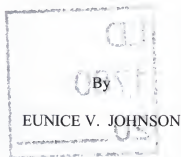


EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN CHINA, 1880-1910:
TIMOTHY RICHARD AND HIS VISION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION



A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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2001

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by

Eunice V. Johnson

DEDICATED

TO THE GLORY OF GOD

in loving memory of
MY PARENTS

and in honor of the
SHANXI UNIVERSITY CENTENNIAL
May 8, 2002

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Unless the Lord build the house, they that build it labor in vain. Proverbs 16:12

Whoever embarks on the quest of a doctoral dissertation is quickly struck with the enormity of the task. I am no exception, and I must say that I know I have not completed this research by my efforts alone. Accordingly, I must acknowledge there have been many along the way who have lent many kinds of support or assistance. And I am sure there will be many whom I will fail to thank by name because of the frailty of my memory or gaps in my notes. Nevertheless, I want to try to express my gratitude and to acknowledge my indebtedness to those whose names I do remember for their invaluable contributions to various aspects of this research.

Throughout the entirety of my doctoral program and this dissertation research, I must acknowledge that I know that my steps have been directed by the Holy Spirit of my Lord, Jesus Christ. From the topic selection to which journals to browse, from locating relatives of deceased missionaries contemporaneous with Timothy Richard to finding material by Richard not cited in any research, this has been an adventure of discovery—almost like a treasure hunt—directed by God's Spirit for the continued revelation and unfolding of His good and perfect will.

The doctoral dissertation committee can be the doctoral candidate's mainstay. Some of my committee members served as such for the duration, more than 12 years.

Though my committee has expanded and contracted over these years, my long-suffering chairman, Dr. Richard R. Renner, has remained constant. I am humbly grateful he was open and creative enough to allow me to combine in doctoral scholarship the great passions in my life—Jesus, China, and education—always demanding excellence and clarity of thought and expression as I engaged in this labor of love. He demonstrated much patience and understanding as I experienced the vicissitudes of life as a “mature” student. Dr. Arthur Newman and Dr. Arthur White, professors in the University of Florida College of Education’s Department of Educational Leadership, Policy, and Foundations, have also both served the duration on my committee giving me encouragement and asking hard questions as needed. Dr. Gene Thursby, professor in the Department of Religion, is the newest member of the committee, but he too gave thoughtful reading to all I have given him and asked provocative questions. I also want to acknowledge my indebtedness to other professors. Dr. Cynthia Chennault, associate professor in the University of Florida’s Department of African and Asian Languages and Literatures, and Dr. Michael Ts’in, director of Asian studies and associate professor of Asian history, at various times, places, and capacities advised me. I would be greatly remiss if I did not acknowledge a special indebtedness to a former member of my committee, Dr. Edward A. McCord, who is associate professor of History and former associate dean in George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs. For his friendship and for his faith and encouragement of my scholarly potential over the last more than 12 years, words are not sufficient, but I am

eternally grateful. He always gave much constructive criticism whenever he "bled red" on any paper he thoughtfully read.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society, London.
BMS MSS	Timothy Richard Papers, Baptist Missionary Society Archives. Historical Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, TN.
CIM	China Inland Missions, London, later renamed Overseas Missionary Fellowship.
CSE	Civil Service Examinations.
EAC	Educational Association of China.
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship.
NLW	Timothy Richard Papers, Wyre Lewis Collection, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
S.D.K.	Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, Shanghai, renamed C.L.S. in 1906.
T	tael, a Chinese monetary unit of varying value depending on the type of tael and historical period; in 1900, a tael may have been equivalent to 3s. 2d. or approximately US\$.77.
WKKP	<i>Wan-kuo-kung-pao</i> (<i>Review of the Times</i> or <i>The Globe</i>). Magazine edited by Dr. Young J. Allen and published by the S.D.K.

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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By

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Chair: Richard R. Renner, Ph. D.

Major Department: Educational Leadership, Policy, and Foundations

In 1880, missionary Timothy Richard (1845-1919) first articulated a vision for higher education reform in China. By the mid-1890s, many Chinese scholars and officials began to embrace it. Richard's collected writings with contemporary and secondary English language sources demonstrate his dissemination of this vision while editor of the newspaper *Shih Pao*, General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, and an active member of the Educational Association of China.

After the 1900 Boxer Uprising, Richard was invited by the Chinese government to mediate the settlement of the indemnity issues in Shansi Province. Refusing money for missionary lives lost, Richard recommended that the province pay a 500,000 Tael fine in ten annual installments. This money was to found a college of Western learning

in the provincial capital. This recommendation was ratified by the Peace Plenipotentiaries by May 30, 1901, and reportedly received the Imperial seal. However, the next spring Richard had to renegotiate the agreement. Finally, an amalgamated university with Chinese and Western Departments was established in T'aiyuan. In July 1902, the Imperial University of Shansi (now Shanxi University) officially opened with Richard as Joint Chancellor with the provincial governor.

This research suggests the creation of the Imperial University of Shansi likely prodded the Chinese government to establish a system of government-supported institutions for higher education teaching Western learning. The Imperial University of Shansi modeled goal development, admission/student selection, curriculum, governance, funding, and language of instruction for the new government universities. This is contrary to general acceptance of Yuan Shih-k'ai's university in Shantung as the model. With the founding of the Imperial University of Shansi in its provincial capital, Richard also experienced personal vindication. The success of Richard's reform ideas in higher education was due to his contextualization into Chinese culture of educational concepts and methods from Great Britain.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The missionary enterprise in China received increasing attention in recent years. Liberal historians viewed the missionaries' efforts in terms of cultural imperialism or colonial paternalism. While it is true the missionaries were a product of their own cultures, they all did not thoughtlessly seek to transfer their own cultures to the new context of China. Nor did they seek to gain political advantage in China for their own countries. In fact, many endured great privation and sacrificed much, even their lives, for the privilege of spreading the Christian Gospel. On many occasions, where they went, "the gospel of good works" followed. Schools were established for both boys and girls; hospitals or medical services were made available to all classes; social redemptive works, particularly for women, were provided; all forms of edifying literature were made available in Chinese. A closer examination of missionary contributions is now being undertaken by Chinese and foreigners alike. More studies are now available on individual missionaries or specific missionary contributions to China, such as educational institutions or technical services.¹ Nevertheless, "Protestant missionaries are still the least studied but most significant actors in the scene."²

The number of studies in English on the educational contributions of the Protestant missionary enterprise in China is increasing. Studies are available on missionary colleges and universities—Yenching, St. John's, Nanking (Nanjing),

Soochow (Suzhou), Ginling, for example. However, there have been fewer studies in English on the Chinese government educational institutions. One is Lund's dissertation on "The Imperial University of Peking" which examines its development and impact on China during the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty.³ Another is Biggerstaff's survey of *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China* which chronicles the efforts made by the Chinese government to establish modern schools prior to the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).⁴ Chapters on various government educational institutions can be found included in other books.⁵ In 1992 while discussing Chinese higher education, this researcher asked Dr. Ruth Hayhoe, why was the first modern government university founded in the twentieth century located in the remote inland province of Shanxi, (Shansi) and was there any connection between its creation and the 1901 higher education reform edicts?⁶

This writer's preliminary investigations had already suggested that the Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard may hold the key. Richard had administered famine relief in the province 1878-1880. He remained there for the next seven years. During the first four of those years, he provided educational lectures and scientific demonstrations to the scholars and officials in T'aiyuan. Out of his famine experiences and his contacts with these Chinese officials, a vision for the educational reform of Chinese higher education was birthed. For the next twenty years, Richard disseminated this vision through every means available—writings, translations, memorials to the government, personal relationships with Chinese and Westerners, letters—while he served as editor of Li's reformist newspaper *Shih Pao* (1890-1891), as General Secretary of the Society for

the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (1891-1915), and in various capacities in the Educational Association of China (1880-1912). Through the years, some Chinese scholars and officials, who had been making their own efforts to effect change in their examination system, became increasingly sympathetic to Richard's vision. Many finally embraced it and eventually provided the necessary impetus to press the imperial court to issue edicts which ultimately brought about the creation of a system of modern government-supported higher educational institutions. At the Chinese government's invitation, Richard had been invited back to Shansi to settle the Boxer Uprising missionary indemnity issues. In late May 1901, Richard's solution resulted in the creation of a college of Western learning, which later became the Imperial University of Shansi. Preliminary investigation had suggested that the institution's founding may have prompted the government to promulgate edicts in September and November that same year to found similar institutions throughout the Empire.

This dissertation will examine the development, dissemination, and implementation of Timothy Richard's vision for higher education in China. It will primarily cover the three-decade period from 1880, when Richard first articulated his vision to Governor Tseng of Shansi, to 1910, the year Richard relinquished his Chancellorship of the University into the total control of the provincial authorities. This study will demonstrate that it was Richard's vision as epitomized in the Imperial University of Shansi that likely became the model for the earliest twentieth century edicts for the establishment of modern institutions for higher education in China.⁷

Richard experienced many hardships as famine relief administrator during China's 1876-1879 famine.⁸ He witnessed the terrible suffering of the people as he tried

to ease their plight by supplying food and money collected by Christians in China and abroad. He experienced first-hand the difficulties of transport in Shansi in attempting to bring food to the starving. Often he had to endure resistance or maneuvers by various officials which impeded getting aid to the people. What he also found was a lack of basic understanding of scientific principles. He posited once these officials understood these "laws of God" operating in nature they would accept the Christian faith and seek the greatest benefit of their people. Richard believed that the key to their understanding of these laws was education. So, his vision for education was birthed out of his famine experiences. The substance of this vision went through several transformation ultimately becoming one that encompassed all of China. By 1884 he envisioned a system of government-supported higher educational institutions located in the provincial capitals offering a curriculum of Western learning to those scholars who had already achieved certain success on the civil service examinations. By 1888 this vision had expanded to include a three-tiered system which included elementary as well as preparatory education for the higher educational institutions.

This dissertation consists of this introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter will draw a simplistic parallel between Wales and China in the mid-nineteenth century. It will then examine some of the early formative and educational influences in Richard's life while in Wales. Then, it will explore the emergence of Richard's reformist bent to achieve practical results first in Wales then later in China. By the end of this first chapter, at the beginning of his first furlough to England in 1885, this study will demonstrate that Richard had already begun to articulate this vision for higher education to Chinese officials and missionaries.

In the second chapter, the study will explore his first efforts to secure the Baptist Missionary Society's support for his educational vision. Failing in this, Richard returned to China determined to reproduce this vision in others. The remainder of the chapter first will explore the controversies in Shansi and Shantung Provinces surrounding Richard's more liberal missions approach and his insistence on the fulfillment of this vision. Then it will examine his efforts to disseminate his educational vision after he suspended his connection with his missionary society to become editor of the reformist newspaper *Shih Pao* (*The Times*) under the auspices of Li Hung-chang. The refining of the man and his vision was completed in late 1891 at which time Richard became General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (S.D.K.) with the Baptist Missionary Society's financial support.

The third chapter will explore Richard's efforts and contributions on behalf of the welfare of the Chinese people through the S.D.K. over a period of almost twenty-five years. Research will clearly demonstrate that this was the most fruitful and influential period in Richard's life as he impacted all aspects of life in China, directly or indirectly, through his literary efforts and his personal relationships with Chinese and Westerners. His main focus during his first ten years, however, was education. This study will illuminate further Richard's influence on Kang and Liang's thought about education during the Reform Movement 1895-1898. The most dramatic educational reforms K'ang and Liang sought to bring about during the Hundred Day Reform in 1898 will be shown to be ideas Richard had propounded since the early 1880s and likely had discussed at great length with them during their visits together 1895-1898.⁹ This research will suggest

that his impact on education through the S.D.K. may have extended beyond his retirement in 1915.

In the fourth chapter, this study will examine Richard's efforts to disseminate his educational vision through the Educational Association of China (EAC), particularly during the years 1890-1910. This research will posit that the relationship among its missionary members allowed for a fluid exchange of information and, most certainly, opportunity for the dissemination of Richard's vision for higher education in China. This study will also explore factors behind the decreasing influence of the EAC after 1902, specifically as it relates to Richard.

In the final chapter, this study will examine the fulfillment of Richard's vision for higher education in China by the 1901 creation of the Imperial University of Shansi in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan. This research will reveal that the creation of this government university of Western learning likely prompted the Chinese government to overcome its resistance to the establishment of a system of modern institutions of higher education teaching Western learning.

Timothy Richard was a prolific writer, in English and Chinese, and it is this researcher's opinion that through these writings he exerted significant influence on various scholars and officials thus becoming a key figure in the modernization of late Ch'ing China, particularly in terms of higher education.¹⁰ While this researcher has been able to amass a large collection of his writings as well as writings about him, contextual clues indicate that many other of his letters, documents, books, and manuscripts are yet unlocated. These could have been lost or destroyed as a result of the various political

changes in China over the last century as well as the bombing of London during World War II. Nonetheless, many contemporary and secondary sources about Richard's life and contributions in the English language are available.¹¹ For the purpose of this study, however, his autobiography and one extensive collection of his personal papers were used as the primary source material.¹² Citations will be given only for those sources specifically used in this dissertation. In the B.M.S. Archives in Oxford, England, there is the largest archived collection of his letters, more than 200 on microfilm. As a consequence of this doctoral dissertation research, however, this researcher now has this collection and on microfilm or hard copy seven of the English language books he authored, more than 100 articles under his name, many other letters penned by Richard as well as numerous other bits of information culled from other publications, both primary and secondary. In essence, this has become the most extensive collection of Timothy Richard material in one location. Subsequent to the completion of this study, this researcher will donate a copy of this material to Shanxi University in honor of the celebration of its Centennial on May 8, 2002.

For personal and place names in this study, the writer has used the Wade-Giles system, a system generally in use at the time these events took place. However, as a concession to modern scholarship, the writer will include the *pinyin* in parentheses the first time it occurs in the text, such as Chang Chih-tung (Zhang Zhidong) or Shantung (Shandong). One exception is Peking, which was the common usage not Wade-Giles. When there is a temporal shift to modern times in the text, only the *pinyin* will be used.

Notes

1. A recent article on Richard examines his efforts during the 1895-1898 Reform Movement from the identification-translation vantage point. This article concludes with the question, "Was Timothy Richard an extraordinary missionary in China?" Timothy Man-kong Wong, "Timothy Richard and the Chinese Reform Movement," *Fides et Historia* 31/2 (Summer/Fall 1999): 47-59. See also P. Richard Bohr, "The Legacy of Timothy Richard," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24/2 (April 2000): 75-79.
2. Xiaoguang Xu, "A Southern Methodist Mission to China: Soochow University, 1901-1939" (Ph.D. diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 1993), 1, a quote by John K. Fairbanks in 1985.
3. Renville Clifton Lund, "The Imperial University of Peking" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1956).
4. Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1961).
5. D. Buck, "Educational Modernization in Tsinan 1899-1937," in M. Elvin and W. Skinner (eds.), *The Chinese City Between Two Worlds* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 171-212; Barry Keenan, "Lung-men Academy in Shanghai and the Expansion of Kiangsu's Educated Elite, 1865-1911," in B. Elman and Alexander Woodside (eds.), *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).
6. Dr. Hayhoe echoed this question in *China's Universities, 1895-1995: A Century of Cultural Conflict* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 18-19.
7. *Ibid.*, 19.
8. Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Famine Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, MA: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1972).
9. The two main issues were (1) the replacement of the stilted eight-legged essays on the Confucian classics-based civil service examinations with essays on current affairs and (2) the establishment of schools in the provinces including both Chinese and Western studies in their curricula. Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 375.
10. See the Bibliography and Appendix B this study for many of the known titles.

11. Many of the following biographies and studies used Richard's autobiography as their primary source; therefore, they contain little new information. However, most of the writers of the earliest books (before 1930) did have a personal relationship with Richard; hence, occasional nuggets of information are contained therein not found in Richard's autobiography. Those dated 1945 were written in honor of the centenary of Richard's birth.

Pat Barr, *To China With Love: The Life and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972).

Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, MA: East Asia Research Center, 1972).

[Hilda Bowser?], *Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D.: An Outline of His Life and Work in China* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1914).

E. W. Burt, "Timothy Richard: His Contribution to Modern China," *International Review of Missions* 34 (July 1945): 293-300.

E. W. Price Evans, *Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945).

A. J. Garnier, *A Maker of Modern China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945).

Rita T. Johnson, "Timothy Richard's Theory of Missions to the Non-Christian World" (Ph.D. diss., St. John's University, 1966).

Bert Hideo Kikuchi, "Timothy Richard's Influence on the Missionary Movement and Chinese Reform in Late Ch'ing China" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1969).

Kenneth Scott Latourette, *These Sought a Country* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 88-110.

D. MacGillivray, *Timothy Richard of China: A Prince in Israel* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1920).

Rev. B. Reeve, *Timothy Richard, D.D.: China Missionary, Statesman, and Reformer* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co. Ltd, 1911?).

William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary & the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Limited, 1924).

12. *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1916); Timothy Richard Papers, Archives of the English Baptist Missionary Society, Regent's Park College, Oxford, England (microfilm at Southern Baptist Convention Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee). (Hereafter cited as BMS MSS.)

CHAPTER II

TIMOTHY RICHARD'S EARLIEST REFORM EFFORTS, 1865-1885

Introduction

In 1870 Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard arrived in a China that was much like Wales at the beginning of the nineteenth century. An agrarian society under the rule of an alien power, Wales had struggled to maintain its identity since King Edward of England had subjugated its Celtic kings in the 13th century. Forced to bow before the foreign monarch in London and required to speak the foreign English tongue, the Welsh people fought hard to maintain their cultural integrity as they looked ahead to a day of liberation. Their liberation came not in the form of a politico-military release from foreign domination but in the social modernization thrust upon them with the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Wales. Farms lay fallow as young people flocked to jobs in the city factories and coal mines in newly-developed industrial centers. New schools and ideas about schooling abounded. This modernization process seemed to sound the death knell for the old way of life in Wales.

Similarly, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great Middle Kingdom of China found itself bowed low under an alien power. The foreign Manchu Ch'ing (Qing) dynasty had come to power almost two hundred years before when the Han Chinese imperial forces and the Manchu army made an alliance in an attempt to liberate the imperial capital of Peking (Beijing) from the grasp of rebel Chinese troops. It was

by invitation, then, that the superior Manchu forces left their kingdom in the northeast, breached the Great Wall, marched inland, and in 1644 liberated Peking from the rebel troops. Before the Han Chinese leaders became aware of their less than noble purposes, the Manchu had moved their court to Peking and founded the Ch'ing dynasty. Subjugated, the Han people then experienced oppression at the hand of these foreign Manchu rulers and saw China's power wither away as the Ch'ing dynasty increasingly became more impotent against encroachment by Western powers.¹

By the middle of the nineteenth century, various foreign powers had succeeded through the execution of treaties in establishing missionary residence and trade presence within China's borders. By the late 1860s, trade with England, France, Portugal, Holland, Germany as well as the United States had been forced upon the Ch'ing empire. These treaties had also included articles which guaranteed the right of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries of these various nationalities to travel inland and establish centers of missionary work on Chinese soil. Through the missionaries, churches were built; schools were established; medical services provided.²

Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard entered this maelstrom of forces when in 1870 he arrived in China responding to a Christian missionary appeal for dedicated men to serve in the hinterland of this distant land in Asia. Richard's earliest history gave no indication of the powerful influence he would later wield in the reform of higher education in China. This chapter, then, will explore some of the earliest influences in his life and early missionary service. It will also describe some of his earliest efforts towards educational reform both in Wales and China.

Biographical Information

Born in 1845 in the small village of Ffaldybrenin in Carmarthenshire, Wales, to a blacksmith farmer's family, Timothy Richard was the youngest of nine children. His own parents were devout Nonconformists who took seriously their responsibility to provide spiritual training for their children, so his upbringing understandably focused on the necessity of the individual's decision to become a Christian and the importance of the Christian faith. Among Richard's relatives were several who had distinguished themselves in Christian ministry.³ During the Great Welsh Revival of 1858-60, Richard himself was converted to faith in Jesus Christ at the age of thirteen and was baptized by the Rev. John Davies of the Salem Baptist Church in May 1859.⁴ The next year he received his "call" to missionary service, though his actual entrance to foreign missionary service in China did not occur for another ten years.⁵

From an early age, Richard showed academic promise. He received formal schooling until the age of fourteen at a school associated with a Congregationalist church built in one of his father's fields. At the age of fifteen, with the encouragement of his mother and brothers, he bargained with his father to remain in school for one more year instead of coming back to the farm to help. His father agreed, perhaps because he had often found him reading or studying while working in the field or tending the farm animals and knew he would succeed in the classroom. He was sent to study at his cousin's school in Cross Inn, some twenty miles away. There he received more schooling as well as music in the Tonic sol-fa notation.⁶ At the end of that year, he became the teacher at the school in Penygroes where during the day he taught the

children and at night he taught the coal miners, some more than twice his age. He put his wages to good use by paying his tuition at a grammar school in Llanybyther. There he was often put in charge of his classmates in the absence of their schoolmaster. He apparently was successful on these occasions because neighbors commented they could tell when he was in charge by the quiet and order in the classroom. For a time, he was asked to fill an unexpected vacancy as schoolmaster in New Inn. After that, he supported himself with his savings while attending the Normal School in Swansea for a brief period. Soon he had to return home to help on the farm while his brother Joshua attended school. During this time, however, his oldest brother David encouraged him to apply for an advertised position of schoolmaster in an endowed school at Conwil Elvet. Surprisingly, given his youth, a mere 18 years of age, he was selected from among sixty applicants. There he began his professional teaching work with twenty-one students. Within eighteen months, while three nearby small village schools had to close for lack of students, enrollment in Richard's school had increased to 120 students. At Conwil Elvet he also taught a weekly Bible class in the evening to the older boys, all of whom after a time became church members.

Reform Efforts in Wales, 1865-1869

In 1865 Timothy Richard left his teaching position to begin his preparation for Christian ministry, with the intention of becoming a foreign missionary. For the next four years, he was a student at Haverfordwest Theological College in Pembrokeshire. At the outset, he came to recognize his academic deficiencies, so he concentrated on his studies.⁷ Theological training at that time consisted primarily of a classical curriculum

studying the civilizations of Rome and Greece as well as various metaphysical and theological studies. It was in response to this curriculum that Richard eventually began to show his reformist bent toward practical use. He joined a student movement "to beg that living languages" be substituted for Greek and Latin then requested that "universal history, covering such lands as Egypt, Babylon, India, and China, should be studied instead of solely European history."⁸ These students also considered the study of science and its modern applications "more useful than barren metaphysical and theological studies."⁹ In his autobiography Richard indicated that he most heartily joined in this move to reform the Seminary's curriculum even to the point of risking expulsion. After serious consideration, the faculty surprisingly conceded to the students' demands on the condition that all theological students pass a stringent examination in Hebrew. Richard not only complied with this mandate but excelled in the examination, receiving a prize for his performance. He also made a personal contribution by introducing the Tonic sol-fa system to the Seminary as well as to various churches in Pembrokeshire.¹⁰ When Richard visited the Seminary fifteen years later, he probably was sad to find the curriculum had reverted to its former classical nature. Though there were no enduring changes made to the Seminary's curriculum, this was a defining incident in Richard's life as he wrote in his autobiography that he "mention[ed] this incident because in all my after missionary life I endeavoured to seek the methods most productive of results, rather than adhere to old ones not adjusted to the changing needs of the times."¹¹

Reform Efforts in Shantung (Shandong), 1870-1877

Towards the end of his studies at the Seminary, Richard heard Mrs. Grattan Guinness make a passionate plea on behalf of the China Inland Mission (CIM).¹² Deeply attracted by CIM's "heroic and self-sacrificing" policy, Richard offered himself for service to this mission organization but was directed to apply to the Baptist Missionary Society (hereafter called B.M.S.) since he was Baptist.¹³ Even during his application interview with the B.M.S., Richard exhibited an early appreciation for the Chinese civilization as well as his pragmatic approach to missions when he justified his choice of North China as his mission field preference. He later wrote in his autobiography, ". . . as the Chinese were the most civilized of non-Christian nations, they would, when converted, help to carry the gospel to less advanced nations, and that by working in the north temperate zone Europeans could stand the climate, while the natives of North China, after becoming Christians, could convert their fellow-countrymen all over the Empire" (29). This is also an early indication that Richard did not share the paternalistic approach adopted by many missionaries of his day. Therefore, even before accepted as a missionary, Richard had already envisioned his responsibility as a missionary to be the raising up of indigenous Christian leadership.

In 1869, Richard was accepted by the Baptist Missionary Society as a missionary to North China. Before his departure Richard was given advice by "the two venerable secretaries, Drs. Trestrail and Underhill." One admonished him to offer no opinion of things in China until he had studied them carefully; the other exhorted him "to get hold of the schoolmasters— the teachers of the land— for, by converting these,

we might look to the whole nation turning to God” and to make careful study of the commands contained in Matthew 10, specifically “to seek the worthy.”¹⁴ With those words echoing in his heart, he sailed for China out of Liverpool on November 17, 1869, aboard Blue Funnel (Holt) Line’s *Achilles*. During his four-month voyage, he assiduously applied himself to learn the 212 radicals in the written Chinese language. He arrived in Shanghai on February 12, 1870.

The China Richard came to in 1870 had spent the last five years recovering from its fourteen-year long T’aping Revolution, a quasi-Christian movement to establish the Kingdom of Heaven in China led by a Chinese scholar who believed he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ. This movement had involved sixteen of China’s eighteen provinces, destroying more than 600 cities and resulting in the deaths of more than 15 million people.¹⁵ At that time, also, there was only one newspaper in Chinese, the official *Peking Gazette*. There were no railroads, telegraphs, or post offices. There was no official concern about “public opinion,” so there was little effort by the officials to maintain their popularity in the eyes of the people. The people’s primary need was to maintain the favor of the local magistrate and survive. Male literacy was approximately 5%, but those who wrote were fewer; very few women could read; there were no schools for girls, except as provided by the few missionaries in China at that time.¹⁶ Moreover, the custom of binding the girl’s feet was still in vogue among the Han Chinese majority.

After a twelve-day stay in Shanghai, Richard left for North China arriving three days later in the treaty port of Chefoo (now Yantai) in Shantung Province. Once there,

because of the death or earlier departure of his B.M.S. colleagues, Richard soon became the sole representative there of the ten-year-old work of his missionary society.¹⁷ He did find himself, however, in the company of some remarkable missionaries from other mission societies.¹⁸ Nevertheless, because the responsibility of the B.M.S. work rested squarely on his shoulders alone, his experiences became his main teacher of "what courses to follow and what mistakes to avoid in the future."¹⁹ From the Chinese he found only hostility and little curiosity.²⁰ After two years, he came to realize that the established method of evangelization gained few converts or even inquirers, so he changed his approach to one he believed would be more practical. He began to follow the plan of "seeking the worthy."²¹ This new approach also brought about another change when in 1875 he assumed Chinese dress and a shaved head with an artificial queue, wondering if he "would have more visitors of the better classes" if he wore Chinese dress.²² These changes enabled him to move with greater ease within Chinese society and to have conversations with various individuals, such as a salt manufacturer whom Richard suspected of being a lost Nestorian Christian, Buddhist priests, military men, Islamic mullahs, young examination candidates, a prefectural treasurer, leaders of religious sects, a Taoist hermit, various literati and provincial officials, and even the great leader Li Hung-chang (Li Hongzhang).²³ Such contacts brought him to the realization that he needed to devise a "means to free the Chinese philosophers [scholars and officials also] from the chains of superstition by which they were bound in the theory of *Yin Yang* and the five elements of heaven and earth."²⁴ Richard sought to accomplish this, in part, by giving his Chinese helpers

lectures with demonstrations of chemistry and physics experiments with the intention of "giving them true conceptions of the laws of natural philosophy."²⁵ Nevertheless, he continued in his other missionary duties in street-chapel preaching, itinerating, tract distribution, and even some basic medical work.²⁶

Seeing what he believed to be an unnecessary density of missionaries in Chefoo and seeking to increase the breadth of the evangelistic effort, Richard decided to move his mission center inland. By 1875 he had settled in the prefectural city of Ch'ingchow (now Weifang), more than 200 miles inland from Chefoo.²⁷ Soon after Richard's arrival there, the Treasurer of the Prefecture sought out his company to aid in breaking his opium addiction. The Treasurer was successful in overcoming this addiction and later rendered invaluable assistance to Richard. Though not a trained medical doctor, Richard did know basic medical care and some specifics for dispensing quinine and chlorodyne (spirits of camphor) for ague and cholera. In fact, he used quinine successfully to treat the wife of the superintendent of police. This same superintendent subsequently became his landlord in spite of the violent prejudice against foreigners exhibited by a retired magistrate.

During this time, Richard again modified his approach as a result of his contacts with Islamic leaders in Ch'ingchow. He found if he were to be "able to win Mohammedans [Islamics] over to Christianity it would be necessary . . . to adopt a different line of argument altogether."²⁸ To develop this new dialogue, he knew he needed to understand these and various other religious adherents, and he sought to do this through their literature. He found himself delving deeply into translations of the

Koran and every other book he had on Islam. Also during this time, Richard immersed himself in Legge's translation of the Confucian Classics, various Buddhist and Taoist writings as well as the most popular religious books used by other sects. From these writings, he garnered a vocabulary of religious terms already in use by the Chinese. This willingness to consider thoughtfully the validity of the literature of other religions would later cause friction between him and his missionary colleagues as they felt this to be too liberal.

By spring 1876, more than ten provinces of North China were suffering from drought. The suffering of the people was intense, and social disorder increased. That summer, two Shantung scholars asked Richard to head a rebellion against the authorities who were not distributing food to the perishing people. Richard wrote he "advised them to devise constructive instead of destructive methods for improving the condition of the people."²⁹ For the next year or two, Richard played an active role in soliciting donations from Christians in various Chinese cities as well as abroad and in distributing food and money to aid the famine-stricken in Shantung. With some of the money, he established orphanages for one hundred boys each at five different famine-relief centers. In these unusual orphanages, the twelve to eighteen-year-old boys were taught occupations by which they could earn their living — smithing, carpentering, silk-weaving, cord-making. They used various new kinds of foreign tools, particularly in carpentry. In the spring of 1877, he placed a proposal to "avert future famines" before the Prefect and city magistrate in Ch'ing-chow. If authorities would grant the land with the houses and bear half the expense, Richard proposed he would take charge

of the orphanages and establish schools similar to those in Peking, Shanghai, and Foochow (Fuzhou).³⁰ He proposed

these schools should be for the most intelligent of the orphans, where the pupils would be taught Western learning and English, while the less intelligent of the orphans would be instructed in new industries so as to avoid increasing the number of competitors in the old industries. When the orphans had completed their training, they would render immense service to their countrymen.³¹

In his appeal to the officials, he argued that the ancient sages devised "new schemes for the good of the people . . . [t]herefore, in the present age of international intercourse, the mandarins should adopt new methods for their peoples' welfare."³² His proposal, however, was never implemented. Nonetheless, the seed of this suggestion eventually did find fertile ground. Some twenty years later a son of this same city magistrate became involved in a reform movement which recommended, on Richard's advice, the establishment of institutions for Western learning in the eighteen provinces.³³ Within five years ". . . the Chinese Government [had] realized the imperative necessity of Western learning, and ordered the whole Empire to adopt it."³⁴

Another obstacle, as noted above, that he had early learned needed to be overcome in the minds of the Chinese in order that reform ideas and missionary work would take hold was *feng shui*.³⁵ No burial plot was selected, house built, wall or fence erected, well dug, or road built without first consulting a teacher of *feng shui*, who was often quick to become alarmed with any threatened disturbance of the *feng shui*. Even the families of eminent scholars believed if the *feng shui* of their land was disturbed "the family would produce no more scholars nor officials, but be doomed to obscurity

and poverty and even sterility.”³⁶ Therefore, there was great resistance to any attempts to lay railway tracks or string telegraph wire as these were viewed as threats to the *feng shui*. Richard felt instruction in the natural sciences, such as astronomy, physics, and chemistry, was the best way to counteract this belief and fear. He believed the “study of science ought to be held in as much reverence as religion, for it deals with the laws of God.”³⁷ To further this aim he “drafted a scheme for a series of science textbooks to be prepared for the Chinese.”³⁸ Around this same time, he wrote to the B.M.S. in London giving a description of the great suffering in Shantung Province due to the famine. He appealed to the English churches to take advantage of this opportunity to demonstrate true Christianity. He believed that

“China could be helped in four ways:

1. By immediate famine relief.
2. By teaching the people the true principles of Christian civilization, including medicine, chemistry, mineralogy, history.
3. By the introduction of new industries.
4. By the teaching of spiritual truths and the relation of progress to the worship of the true God.”³⁹

On behalf of himself and his assistant A. G. Jones, he asked his missionary society for an immediate grant of £1000 to further these aims.⁴⁰ He writes, perhaps wryly, “[It is] with great pleasure that I record the liberal spirit of the Society, shown by the immediate granting of £500.”⁴¹

Even though Richard had only been in China seven years, by this time he had become proficient enough in the oral and written language to engage in philosophical discussions with various Chinese as well as engage in translation work. His earlier study of the various Chinese religious and philosophical thought proved invaluable

because it "gave him a vocabulary of religious terms that was intelligible to the Chinese." This enabled him to prepare a catechism in Chinese that avoided the use of unfamiliar foreign terms and appealed to the conscience of the Chinese. He also translated a Religious Tract Society book entitled *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*, Francis de Sales's *Devout Life*, and the first part of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*.⁴² Since these were translations of religious and philosophical treatises, their appeal was not to the peasants who were, for the most part, illiterate but directed towards the educated or those whom Richard saw as the "worthy," the devout seekers of the truth.

Reform Efforts In Shansi (Shanxi) Province, 1877-1885

In the midst of his various efforts in Shantung, Richard received a letter from the Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai expressing their appreciation for the manner with which he had been distributing the relief fund they had collected. They then informed him that the famine was even more severe in the inland province of Shansi and asked if he would go there to administer famine relief. After talking and praying with his colleague and the native pastor, Richard knew he was to go. He wrote later he "was so profoundly impressed with the deep feeling that God was giving [them] an opportunity of exercising influence over many millions of people."⁴³ With a passport issued by Li Hung-chang, then Viceroy of Chihli (Zhili), to assure his safe passage into the interior, Richard began the more than five hundred mile trip to Shansi Province in the company of only two Chinese Christians, who later became fainthearted and parted company with him once they began to see the terrible sights resulting from the Shansi

famine. Richard eventually arrived in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan (Taiyuan) where he found himself the sole representative of the Protestant faith in a community that already had a Roman Catholic bishop and a dozen priests, remnants of a Jesuit effort begun more than two hundred years before.⁴⁴

Soon after his arrival, he met with Governor Tseng Kuo-ch'uan (Zeng Guochuan), brother of Tseng Kuo-fan (Zeng Guofan) of the T'ai ping Rebellion fame and uncle of the Marquis Tseng, then Chinese Minister to London. The Governor greeted him with suspicion, perhaps believing Richard was there to steal the hearts of the people and stir up social disorder. Governor Tseng later also attempted to capitalize on the long-standing tensions between the Roman Catholics and Protestants by insisting Richard give the money to the priests to distribute. In the end, however, Richard was able to enlist the cooperation not only of the priests in some basic information-gathering tasks about the extent of the famine but also of various provincial officials in establishing the famine relief strategy. He also recommended to the Governor three urgent measures to aid in famine relief: emigration to Manchuria or any other place where inexpensive grain could be obtained; establishment of public works, such as the construction of railways, which would not only give the people wage-earning opportunities but also aid in the transport of grains and food stuffs thereby preventing the recurrence of the famine; and, lastly, imposition of a famine relief tax on those provinces not suffering from famine.⁴⁵ The Chinese officials did not welcome the idea of railways, in part because of their fear of disturbing the *feng shui*, but also due to their concern over the number of foreigners such an endeavour would

necessarily bring into the Province. Another recommendation Richard made, later discovered by the succeeding governor in the provincial archives, was to establish a college of Western learning in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan. The officials were also reluctant to follow this advice, so no such school was established until 1901 when, again on the recommendation of Richard, one was created to settle the Boxer Uprising indemnity issues for the province.⁴⁶ Over the next two years, however, Richard succeeded in distributing more than \$65,000 in famine relief funds collected both in China and abroad. Nonetheless, an estimated fifteen to twenty million people still perished in the famine.⁴⁷

In 1878 Richard went back to Chefoo in Shantung to marry a missionary with whom he had corresponded. They immediately returned to Shansi to continue famine relief work. His new wife, Mary Martin Richard, founded an orphanage for boys in T'aiyuan soon after their return; meanwhile Richard began to consider more carefully how to approach the believers of the various philosophies and religious sects who lived in Shansi.⁴⁸ He came to realize he needed to prepare special Christian literature that would appeal specifically to adherents of these various beliefs. To prepare himself for this task, he gathered a complete set of Roman Catholic, Greek Church, and the few existent Protestant books in Chinese.⁴⁹ Since Russia and China were threatening hostilities about this same time, Richard also wrote a pamphlet in Chinese on peace which he then circulated among the government officials in Peking. In August 1880, he travelled to Peking to present a memorial to these high officials on peace. The anti-foreign war party there were offended by his pamphlet and labelled a traitor anyone

who sought peace. On his way back to T'aiyuan, he stopped in T'ientsin where he was invited to call upon Li Hung-chang, the Viceroy of Chihli. During that visit, Viceroy Li expressed his gratitude for Richard's efforts to avert the suffering of his people during the recent famine. There was some discussion about the missionary work in which Li implied that the Chinese became converts to Christianity because they received payment for services. Richard states in his autobiography that Li

also pointed out that there were no Christians among the educated classes of the land. This made me consider more than ever the importance of influencing the leaders, and I returned to Shansi resolved to lecture to the officials and scholars.⁵⁰

Upon returning to T'aiyuan, Richard began to study the causes for human suffering not only in China but the world. He concluded that Western civilization "sought to discover the workings of God in Nature, and to apply the laws of Nature for the service of mankind." The root of this aggressive world view was in Richard's trust in the Judeo-Christian religious belief that God gave man dominion over all things.⁵¹ In man's effort to exercise this dominion, he developed many inventions which enabled him to extend its exercise. Eastern civilization, on the other hand, sees man to be inextricably linked to the passive acceptance of his fate as he is frequently found to be at the mercy of the natural elements. Richard hoped by revealing the natural laws in operation in scientific experiments that he could remove some of the fearful superstitions held by some officials. Then they would be more inclined to undertake the reforms necessary to prevent a recurrence of the devastating famine and provide means to relieve the poverty of the people.⁵²

Richard began to consider the idea of presenting scientific lectures like those he had used to enlighten his Chinese assistants several years earlier in Shantung Province. He made plans to give monthly lectures and demonstrations on various scientific topics. He was

convinced that if [he] could lecture to the officials and scholars and interest them in these miracles of science, [he] would be able to point out to them ways in which they could utilize the forces of God in Nature for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. . . . Besides the officials of the province, and the students of the Chinese colleges, there were a few hundreds of expectant officials who, later, would be given posts in other parts of the Empire, and through whom beneficial results might accrue to other provinces.⁵³

In preparation for these lectures he gathered, at great personal expense, a library of books on astronomy, electricity, chemistry, geology, natural history, engineering, medicine, workshop tools, and industries as well as work on comparative religion, theology from various denominational perspectives, histories of various nations, biographies, and Asian religions and literature. He even ordered a set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He gathered a vast array of scientific equipment to aid in demonstrating various scientific experiments. He procured a telescope, microscope, hand dynamo, Wimshurst machine, induction coil, various galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, pocket aneroids, a sewing machine, and a complete photographic outfit. He purchased magic lanterns with slides about astronomy, natural history, and natural science.⁵⁴

Over the next three years, Richard used these various books and apparatus to lecture, at their own request, the officials and scholars on such topics as

1. The astronomical miracle discovered by Copernicus.
2. The miracles of chemistry.
3. The miracles of mechanics, such as the lathe and other tools, leading to the sewing-machine and bicycle, etc.
4. The miracles of steam, bringing incalculable blessings to every country that adopted them, as seen in railways and steamers and factories.
5. The miracles of electricity as seen in the dynamo, utilized for light and power transmission.
6. The miracles of light, as seen in the magic lantern and photography.
7. The miracles of medicine and surgery.⁵⁵

After delivering each lecture, Richard found himself besieged with many questions by members of the audience who remained behind. Richard most likely learned to take advantage of these further opportunities to point out if they as officials would work in agreement with the laws which God placed in operation in Nature, their fellow men would receive the ultimate benefit. Richard also learned early in this lecture series that he needed to respect the social convention of rank differences among officials. On one occasion when he had given no thought to this point and invited both high and low-ranking officials, he found that the questions did not flow as freely. When later questioning one of the officials privately about his unusual silence, this was explained to Richard. Thereafter, he "was careful to invite only those of the same rank together in order that they might feel free and sociable."⁵⁶

As a result of these lectures, more officials and students began to visit him in his office. One such frequent visitor was an official awaiting an appointment who later became the Prefect at Ning Wu fu. On one occasion soon after assuming office, this Prefect called on Richard while in T'aiyuan on an official visit to the Governor. Richard asked him about the reforms he was initiating in his area. The Prefect

described the new school he had established in which modern science was taught. He indicated that he himself was examining the students and rewarding them for their studies. Prefect Wang also recounted how he had recently given a scientific explanation for phenomena which had previously been attributed to various superstitious beliefs. All these were the likely results of Richard's lectures and their conversations about foreign learning while Wang was staying in T'aiyuan waiting for his official appointment. Moreover, Richard rented an apartment in his compound to a leading literary scholar of the province, who had been selected by the government to edit a new edition of the Shansi Province *Topographical Cyclopaedia*.⁵⁷ Eventually, however, the number of visitors to Richard's home became so great and their visits so long that his study and translation work began to suffer. He remedied this by renting additional office space on another street where he could work on these without interruption.

During these few years just prior to his first furlough to England, Richard's contacts with officials had expanded to include even those in high government position. Soon after the end of the famine around 1880, he was invited to accompany provincial officials to meet Tso Tsung-t'ang (Zuo Zongtang), the liberator of Ili from the Russians and viceroy of Shensi (Shaanxi) and Kansu (Gansu) Provinces, as he stopped-over a short distance from T'aiyuan on his journey to Peking. In his private meeting with Tso, Richard presented him a chart of the comparative history of the world he had recently completed. Tso discussed at great length with Richard not only the chart but

also the relationship of the missionaries and the Chinese government as well as the many reforms he himself had initiated in Kansu Province.⁵⁸

Another great official with whom Richard developed a relationship was the successor of Shansi's Governor Tseng, Chang Chih-tung (Zhang Zhidong). Outstanding in his brilliance and anti-foreign stance, Chang nevertheless distinguished himself in his determination to find a way to alleviate some of the famine-causing conditions in Shansi. While searching the provincial archives in 1882, he found the recommendations Richard had written in 1880 and presented to the former governor. These included building railways, opening mines, establishing industries, and founding a college for modern education.⁵⁹ Chang later sent a deputation of three leading officials to Richard to issue his first of two requests that he leave missionary work and enter the Governor's service to carry out these ideas. Richard respectfully declined these offers as he believed the missionary to be "engaged in work of still greater importance."⁶⁰ However, Richard did help him by completing land surveys of potential flood areas and obtaining cost estimates on mining machinery; furthermore, he stated he would be glad to refer foreign technical experts to him to help in implementing his reforms.⁶¹ Very soon thereafter, before he had time to implement his planned reforms in Shansi, Chang was transferred to become Viceroy first at Canton then Wuchang where he founded a steel works, built a railway, established industries, and founded "modern colleges, such as [Richard] had suggested to him in Shansi."⁶²

In 1882 Richard was called back to Shantung Province for a year to oversee the B.M.S. churches there while his colleague A. G. Jones returned to England for a year

to try to persuade the China Missions Committee to send more missionaries. While in Shantung, Richard planted three important seeds which later bore fruit for modern education in Shantung. The first was the conversations he had while he lodged with an enthusiastic missionary named Whitewright. They engaged in many late night lively discussions about Richard's educational work in Shansi. Richard later recorded in his autobiography that Whitewright "opened a museum in Ch'ing-chow fu in 1887 [about four years later], where he gave a course of lectures to students. In 1904 this same Whitewright removed to Chi-nan fu [Jinan], the capital of Shantung, and built what he called the Chi-nan fu Institute, which has been called by others the Missionary Museum."⁶³ Most likely this is the antecedent of the present day Jinan Institute of Technology. The second was the magic lantern show Richard gave to the local magistrate, his secretaries, local gentry, and minor officials. This was the first they had seen, and Richard wrote later that this demonstration favourably disposed them to the missionaries and removed these officials' resistance to allowing the missionaries to obtain a house.⁶⁴ Moreover, this demonstration influenced these officials and gentry later to attend Whitewright's lectures and to allow him to establish an educational center for Western learning in the environs. The third involved the Triennial Examinations which were to be held that year. Richard organized an effort to offer monetary prizes for the best essays on religious subjects.⁶⁵ Perhaps this was one of the earliest modern efforts, though unofficial, to expand the topics for essays by examination candidates beyond the required Confucian literature.

In March 1884, several months after returning to Shansi, Richard received a letter from the China Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in London requesting that he go to Peking to discuss the matter of religious liberty with the newly-appointed British Minister and Chinese government officials. Chinese officials generally had demonstrated great hostility toward anything labelled Christian since the end of the T'aping Rebellion, an uprising in South China of a quasi-Christian nature which had devastated the country from 1851-1864.⁶⁶ By May 1884 Richard and his colleague Francis H. James of Ts'ing-chow, Shantung, were in Peking where they drafted a letter which they later presented in person to the new British Minister to China, Sir Harry Parkes, detailing specific incidents of treaty violations hoping to secure "better protection for the Native Christians" and foreign missionaries alike.⁶⁷ Richard and James were successful in eventually presenting a draft of a memorial to Parkes for official presentation to the Chinese government on religious tolerance. It is not clear, though, if this memorial were ever presented to the Throne, and surely their efforts did not succeed in ending hostilities against the Christian missionaries and native Christians.⁶⁸

While in Peking, however, Richard took advantage of the opportunity to visit Sir Robert Hart, the highly respected Inspector General of the Imperial Chinese Customs. They discussed at length their various reform proposals for the benefit of China that they had presented to officials over the years. Richard discussed his proposals to Governor Tseng and Tso Tsung-t'ang as well as Li Hung-chang and the Foreign Office "that the introduction of modern education would save China from

foreign wars and indemnities”⁶⁹ and to Hart himself “[t]hat a Commission consisting of a number of leading scholars of the Empire should go abroad and report on the educational systems of the world.”⁷⁰ Richard told Hart he believed it would take at least twenty years for these efforts to have beneficial results for China, but he believed it to be a necessary time expenditure as China prepared herself to enter the family of nations. During this same visit to Peking, Richard also wrote a lengthy article in which he articulated his position. This article entitled “Christian persecutions in China: their nature, causes, remedies” published in the July-August 1884 issue of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, contained not only Richard’s earliest recommendation for the establishment of system of modern higher educational institutions to be located in each provincial capital, a recommendation hitherto articulated by very few, if any, Chinese or foreigners but also specific remedies.⁷¹ The first remedy Richard recommended included six specific means of enlightening the Chinese officials as to the true nature of the Christian works in progress in China. The second remedy included specific recommendations concerning the preparation Richard believed missionaries should undertake before entering missionary work during this critical moment in the development of China. The final remedy included three means to facilitate cooperative efforts between the Chinese and foreigners.⁷² By this time, these had become the key issues contained his correspondence with the Home Mission Committee in London as well as upon which he focussed his energies. Richard believed that education of the Chinese by educated missionaries, such as he was providing in Shansi, would engender friendly relations between the Chinese officials

and all Christians. As a result of his experiences during the famine and the subsequent years with more receptive government officials, Richard became convinced of China's need for a multitude of educated missionaries who could provide the specialized education and literature needed for the uplift of all of China.⁷³

After a five months absence, Richard returned to T'aiyuan to continue his lectures to the officials there, and he set about to organize the missionary operations in Shansi in order to have a "permanent systematic work in the main centres."⁷⁴ At the conference of the Shansi Province missionaries in August, he presented four means of accomplishing this permanent systematic work which by now he envisioned as possibly extending throughout China with the work in T'aiyuan serving as the model. First, and central to this effort, was the "establishing colleges in ten of the leading provinces, where a hundred Chinese graduates would be given a three years' course in Western learning," the first being established in T'aiyuan.⁷⁵ Second, to aid in this training, Richard saw the need for appropriate literature of a Christian nature "to enlighten China on all topics of real benefit to her."⁷⁶ Third, to expedite the supplying of this material, he proposed to establish a Christian Literature Society to publish and distribute this literature. While he found some of his colleagues were sympathetic to his vision, their number was not sufficient to actually fulfill the task. This was the fourth means Richard proposed, to increase the number of missionaries committed to this purpose in Shansi. As Richard later wrote, by "autumn of 1884 I felt that I had come to the end of a chapter in my work in China."⁷⁷ At this point, he saw the need to lay his "new scheme of work" before his mission society at home in London to see if it

might lend the financial support and personnel necessary to realize the various goals he had articulated to his missionary colleagues in Shansi.⁷⁸ By early 1885, Richard, his wife, and four daughters sailed for England for a well-deserved furlough, his first in almost fifteen years of continuous service within Shantung and Shansi Provinces. By now his vision for missionary service had expanded to include the whole of China.

Notes

1. Most of the historical background for this dissertation was taken from Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
2. Preeminent as a world power in military might and commercial expansion, the English attempted as early as 1793 to establish trade and diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom of China. China, for the most part, resisted such efforts or exercised strict control over such intercourse allowing trade only through Canton (Guangzhou). This resistance led to inevitable misunderstanding which, in turn, deteriorated into formal military clashes. These were settled by the execution of what later became known as the Unequal Treaties of 1842, 1858, and 1860. The first in 1842 was to settle the Opium War, a conflict between Britain and China which probably had more to do with offense to Chinese convention and umbrage to British commercial pride. In 1858 and 1860, a second treaty was signed to settle a conflict resulting from the Chinese assaulting a British-licensed ship. The ramifications of these treaties were far-reaching, even into the present century. For an overview of these, see Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 168-220. The most important provisions of these treaties for the purpose of this study were the guaranteed rights of travel and residence by foreigners not only in certain coastal cities but also in the interior and the protection of the free exercise and propagation of the Christian faith by native and foreign believers alike. See also Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, 3rd ed. rev. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 344-353.
3. *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1916), 19-20.
4. Fred Price, *History of Caio, Carmarthenshire* (Swansea, Wales: The Author, printed by B. Trerise, 1904), 58-59.
5. Richard recounted in his autobiography that soon after his conversion and baptism he felt moved by a sermon to go abroad as a missionary. The sermon based on "To obey is better than sacrifice" [I Sam. 15:22 New International Version] left unmoved

his brother Joshua who had accompanied him (22). E. W Burt, "Timothy Richard: His Contribution to Modern China," *International Review of Missions* 34 (July 1945): 292-300.

6. Tonic sol-fa is a "system of musical notation and teaching, especially for the voice, that uses the initial letters of the solmization syllables [do-re-mi, etc.] to indicate the tones of the major scale, and symbols consisting of dots and lines to indicate rhythm." *Funk & Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary*, 1973.

7. Richard wrote to his parents on January 13, 1866, soon after he arrived at Haverfordwest, a letter which revealed a troubled heart on account of his lack of erudition. "The students who were to enter the same time as I was entering had read books which I had never read and for that reason I could not be very quiet . . . most of the things are new to me" (1, translated by Thomas Evans, January 1, 1965).

8. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 25.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 26.

12. China Inland Mission was founded by J. Hudson Taylor in 1864. As a missionary society, it was unique in its self-sacrificial principles—faith in God to provide totally for all support; trust in guidance received through prayer rather than religious education before going to the mission field; readiness to go to the interior adopting the native dress and lifestyle.

13. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 29. The B.M.S. was founded almost two hundred years earlier through the pioneering efforts of the great British Baptist missionary to India, William Carey. Because the guiding principles of the CIM were so different from most denominational organizations, any candidate who declared a denomination was referred to his or her own denominational mission society. This is what happened during Richard's missionary candidacy to the CIM.

14. Timothy Richard, *Fifteen Years' Missionary Work in China*, address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society in Exeter Hall, April 30, 1885, 4.

15. For an overview of the T'ai ping Revolution, see Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 221-253.

16. E. W. Burt, "Timothy Richard: His Contribution to Modern China," *International Review of Missions* 34 (July 1945), 295.

17. At one time there had been five other B.M.S. missionaries in Chefoo. However, Dr. ? Hall had died earlier of cholera; R. F. Laughton, a seven-year veteran of China, died of typhus in June soon after Richard's arrival; the three other men (H. Z. Kloekers, ? McMechan, and ? Kingdon) had left for England before Richard's arrival. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 32; L. Tucker, *Notes on the Life and Work of Dr. Timothy Richard of China*, (London: John F. Shaw & Co., Ltd, [1908?]), 7. For a discussion of the missionary effort Shantung Province by a missionary contemporaneous with Richard in China, see Robert Coventry Forsyth, *Shantung: The Sacred Province of China* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1912). This volume was written by a B.M.S. missionary and published through Richard's S.D.K. in Shanghai. Not surprisingly, then, in this volume there is a biographical sketch and formal photograph of Richard with his decorations (209-214).
18. The Rev. Alexander Williamson sailed out to China in 1865 as a member of the London Mission Society first locating in Shantung. Later he represented the National Bible Society of Scotland and in 1887 became founder of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese located in Shanghai. Upon his untimely death, Richard was invited to succeed him as General Secretary of this Society. The Rev. John L. Nevius represented the American Presbyterian Mission, and twenty years later he became the American Chairman of the China Missionary Conference in Shanghai. Nevius is also credited with a widely acclaimed method of raising up indigenous leadership. The Rev. Hunter Corbett also represented the American Presbyterian Mission and on a later furlough to the United States became Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod. The Rev. Calvin Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission, was viewed by Richard as "the great pioneer of scientific education in missionary work in China." Most likely it was Mateer's example of using scientific demonstrations and lectures to train young men in the workings of the laws of God in order to be better leaders of their people that Richard emulated a decade later in Shansi. Daniel W. Fisher, *Calvin Wilson Mateer: Forty-five Years a Missionary in Shantung* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1911), 212; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 34.
19. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 35.
20. Tucker, *Notes on the Life and Work of Dr. Timothy Richard*, 7-9.
21. At first, Richard engaged in all the usual itineration, street preaching, and tract distribution but with few results. The paradigm shift occurred, however, as a result of reading the sermon "Missionaries After the Apostolic School" included in *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving* published in the 1860s. This sermon was based on Matthew 10:11—"Whatever town or village you enter, search for some worthy person there and stay at his house until you leave." [New International Version] After reading this, as he recorded in his autobiography, Richard became convinced he should refocus his efforts upon those individuals who by education, religious devotion, or

socioeconomic status were considered to be at a higher level or "leaders of thought" rather than in mass evangelistic efforts (86). Soothill's biography recorded that Richard's conviction about this approach grew such that by 1887-88, at his own expense, he mailed a copy of this sermon to "every missionary in the Far East" (77-79). William E. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., Limited, 1924). According to a letter Richard wrote to Baynes dated 16 July 1888, he had mailed 200 copies to Japan, 500 copies to India, and 800 copies throughout China. (BMS MSS, 2). Soothill's biography included the text of Richard's presentation paragraph for these copies and some margin notes found in Richard's personal copy of Irving's book.

22. This was another aspect of the policy of Hudson Taylor's China Inland Missions that Richard had found so attractive as a missionary candidate. Most likely, however, by 1890 Richard returned to using Western dress probably concluding he no longer had any need of diverting attention from his being a foreigner. He was living in the cosmopolitan city of T'ientsin (Tianjin) where social intercourse among Chinese and foreigners was more common. Moreover, it was as a foreigner that he was actively promulgating his vision for the reform of Chinese education. There was no longer any need for "camouflage." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 80.

23. Richard implied in his autobiography that he first became acquainted with Li Hung-chang (Li Hongzhang) when Li was in Chefoo for the signing of the Chefoo Convention in 1875. Many of Li's troops contracted dysentery and ague and came to the mission hospital for treatment. Richard wrote, "I sent a present of quinine and chlorodyne to the General for distribution amongst his retinue and escort. For this he sent me a letter of thanks" (76).

24. As a result of conversations with various "devout seekers after the truth," Richard realized the futility of these discussions as long as their minds were in bondage to the pseudoscientific superstitions of *feng shui*. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 55.

25. William E. Soothill in *Timothy Richard of China* (London: Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1924) wrote that with these lectures and demonstrations, "He now took the first step which led to the foundation of the Shansi University . . . he came back taught, or rather further enlightened as to the scholars' need of a better philosophy of God's world" (53).

26. On one iteration as early as 1871, Richard and his companion John Lilley may have become the first missionaries into Manchuria and Korea.

27. Residence in the interior was yet another aspect that had attracted Richard as a young missionary candidate in 1869 to Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission policy of self-sacrifice. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 28-29.

28. In fact, Richard sought out opportunities to converse with clerics of various religions and sects in no way eschewing to meet with these believers. He actually seemed to relish these meetings perhaps because he viewed it as the essence of "seeking the worthy." For his encounters with Islamic clerics during this time, see Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 86-89.

29. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 100. He also wrote that he had earlier suggested to the Prefect of Ch'ingchow "that the Government in Peking should be memorialized to make arrangements with Korea and Japan for free trade in cereals and thus lower the price" raised to an exorbitant level during the famine (99). This appears to be the first time he sought to have presented to the imperial government an idea he formulated for the practical remedy of a widespread problem. See Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary: Timothy Richard as a Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform, 1876-1884* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972) for a definitive study of his famine relief efforts.

30. Bohr wrote that Richard proposed a single institution, a "government training school" (143), but close reading of Richard's autobiography suggests he proposed converting his five orphanages into missionary-government jointly supported schools under his supervision (121). The institutions in Peking, Shanghai, and Foochow (Fuzhou) to which Richard refers were the T'ung-wen kuan (Tongwen Guan), special foreign languages schools and translation bureaus first established in 1862 at the suggestion of Prince Kung. About these, Hsü in *The Rise of Modern China* wrote, "Nevertheless, the T'ung-wen kuan marked the beginning of Western education in China" (271). In a lengthy letter to A.G. Jones in Ch'ing-chow dated 18 January 1878, Richard wrote in detail about the need to provide practical training for the famine orphans (7, 20-24, 26, 27).

Included in this letter also were some of his earliest statements on self-support and self-propagation. Richard believed the Chinese Christians should bear the primary responsibility for the financial support of their Churches and the making of converts. This further demonstrates his lack of the paternalism which modern scholarship accuses the nineteenth century Western missionary. Furthermore, these ideas antedate Nevius's publication of *Missionary Method* that first appeared in pamphlet and then in a series of articles in the *Chinese Recorder* published in 1886. These were the probable product of a time several years before when he toured Richard's various missionary centers in Shantung. Richard has never received proper recognition as being the apparent originator of this missions methodology. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 106-107; Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 92-93.

31. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 121.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 131-132. Hsü in *The Rise of Modern China* indicates the greatest weight of the edicts issued by the Emperor Kuang-hsü during Hundred Days Reform led by K'ang Yu-wei (Kang Yuwei) was given to education, most issued from June 11 to August 9, 1898.
34. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 122. For a study of this capstone institution of higher education founded by the earliest reform edict (June 11, 1898), see Lund's 1966 doctoral dissertation at the University of Washington on the Imperial University of Peking.
35. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 123. Latourette described *feng shui*, translated literally "wind water," as a "strange system of pseudo-scientific superstition which has had so marked a hold on the Chinese mind . . ." (585). He explained it further to be "based upon the belief that in every locality forces exist which act on graves, buildings, cities, and towns, either for the welfare or the ill of the quick and the dead" (651). These "forces" could be adjusted, mollified, or capitalized upon by reckoning with certain principles. With the coming of scientific Western ideas and practices to China, these principles were no longer respected nor were the experts in *feng shui* consulted.
36. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 81.
37. *Ibid.*, 123.
38. *Ibid.*, 124.
39. *Ibid.*
40. A. G. Jones left a successful business in Ireland in November 1876 responding to a personal call from God to go to the mission field in China. As members of the Baptist Missionary Society, Jones and Richard worked together during the early years of famine relief in Shantung. Later, they prayerfully separated with Richard moving to Shansi (Shanxi) to administer famine relief there. Even from Shansi, however, Richard would send pastoral letters, sometimes quite voluminous, to Jones advising this less experienced colleague on various matters. As an example, see Richard's 34-page letter to Jones dated 18 January 1878. Also, Richard requested he forward it to Baynes as a report to the Home Mission Committee.
41. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 124.
42. *Ibid.*, 86.
43. E. W. Price Evans, *Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945), 65.

44. According to Milton T. Stauffer, ed., *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), the first Protestant missionaries to visit the province were, in fact, Alexander Williamson and Jonathan Lees in 1869-70. In April 1877, Joshua Turner and Francis James of the China Inland Mission arrived in the province to begin a permanent work there, but both fell ill to typhoid fever. In September they had recovered enough to move to another location outside of T'aiyuan to convalesce. By November 28, 1877, they had regained their strength sufficiently to return to their home base in Wuchang (Wuhan). They left T'aiyuan just two days before Richard's arrival on November 30, 1877. Turner returned in March 1878 with companions and relief funds; James was still too weak to return. A. J. Broomhall, *Assault on the Nine, Book Six: 1875-1887 in Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century* (London: Hodder & Soughton and the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1988), 87-90.
45. Timothy Richard to William Muirhead, BMS MSS, 28 December 1877. In this letter, Richard suggested that the proclamation Tseng issued for the care of the famine orphans throughout the province was also in response to his proposal to Tseng for their care made two or three days earlier.
46. See Chapter VI for a detailed study of the founding of this institution, the Imperial University of Shansi in T'aiyuan.
47. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 134. See Paul Bohr's study for a thorough examination of Richard's famine relief efforts in both Shantung and Shansi Provinces. Richard's letters from T'aiyuan from 1877-78 were published in *The Celestial Kingdom*, a publication in England on China. These letters were replete with horrific examples of the desperate situation of the famine-stricken people of Shansi Province. Letters of this same period to the Alfred Baynes, General Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in London, contained urgent pleas to his Society to send more personnel. At that time, Richard was the only member of his mission society resident in Shansi province engaged in famine relief. By late 1878, however, there were members of other missions permanently residing in T'aiyuan, mostly from Taylor's China Inland Missions.
48. When Richard was commissioned by the B.M.S. to go to China as a missionary, the committee requested he remain unmarried for ten years once he arrived in China. Richard reported in his autobiography that he replied that he would do what was practically the best for his work (29). As it were, eight years later in a letter to Baynes dated 20 April 1878, Richard revealed his plan to go to Shantung in the autumn to marry Mary Martin, a missionary based in Chefoo with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 141. Richard in a letter to his mother dated 3 July 1879 described Mary's many skills and attributes, and his letters to Mary throughout the years of their marriage until her death in 1903 reveal a husband passionately devoted to his wife. Others who knew her well believed her to be uniquely

suited for Richard in every aspect. See the obituary "The death of Mrs. Timothy Richard," *North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, July 17, 1903, 133.

Richard's letter to his mother from Ki-chow (Jizhou?) dated 31 March 1879?, indicated that Mary had "a school of 29 orphan children under her care" (1, translated by Thomas Evans December 31, 1964). Mary was teaching these to read and sing. Richard to mother, 3 July and 11 December 1879, 1 each (translated by Thomas Evans, March 29 and April 1, 1965). In a letter written to his mother soon thereafter dated 17 January 1880, Richard wrote that they intended "to give up the school. Another missionary who has just come here is hoping to open a school to about 60 children. We intend to send the thirty with us to him" (3, translated by Thomas Evans, January 25, 1965).

49. Richard had deep respect for the efforts of Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit who arriving in China 1582 "had written Christian books which brought them converts from amongst the highest circles in the land, and also a large number of followers from among the masses." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 144. The Protestant books available in Chinese for distribution to "intelligent Chinese" were the following: Ernst Faber's *Western Civilization and Commentary on Mark*, A. G. Williamson's *Natural Theology*, Y. J. Allen's *Statesmen's Year Book*, W. A. P. Martin's *Christian Evidences and Allegories*, and a tract by a Chinese Christian entitled "The Mirror of Conscience." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 145.

50. Perhaps another reason for his calling on Li was to explain his intention behind the pamphlet *Ho-I Lun*, the pamphlet he wrote on peace. It had caused such an uproar among the anti-foreign war party that "an edict was issued to say that anyone advocating peace was a traitor, and would suffer the severest penalties." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 151-152.

51. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 158. This belief is based on the Creation contained in the first chapter of the book of Genesis in the Holy Bible which recounts that God gave the first man Adam dominion and commanded him to subdue the earth, a view contrary to Chinese culture in which men were at the mercy of the natural elements and fate.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 159-160. Richard in his autobiography wrote that this magic lantern, the earliest slide projector, "worked by oxy-hydrogen, spirits of wine, and acetylene" (160).

54. Richard ordered this equipment with the expectation that the B.M.S. would see their value and pay the invoiced total of £200. Mary wrote, however, that the Society have just written to say that at present they cant [sic] go in for such expenses . . .

Strange that they don't see the necessity to meet the enquiring turn that the Literati & ruling class have just taken-- yes & to meet it in a Christian spirit. If they don't look sharp we will have infidels teaching this people Western Science as in Japan." Mary Richard to James Martin, BMS MSS, 5 December 1882, 3f.

This expense was ultimately borne by Richard through a legacy left him by the death of an unmarried uncle who considered Richard his favorite. See Mary Richard to James Martin, BMS MSS, 5 May 1880, 2-3; Timothy Richard to James Martin, BMS MSS, 18 October 1880, 1.

55. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 160-161. Both Richard (161) and Soothill (123) record an incident reflecting one official's appreciation for these lectures. A disagreement had arisen between the Manchu and Chinese officials over a newly constructed theater. According to Richard, a Prefect had "strongly urged" the Governor to give it to Richard for his lectures.

56. On this occasion he had "inadvertently invited some tao-t'ais [daotai, rulers of about thirty counties], chi-fus [zhifu, prefects who rule about ten counties], and county magistrates, who have charge of only one" to listen together to the same lecture. One district magistrate who usually was filled with questions remained silent the entire evening. When questioned later privately the reason for his silence, he "replied that he had not dared to speak in the presence of so many of his superiors." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 162-163.

57. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 163-166.

58. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 166-167. Richard considered it noteworthy enough to put in his autobiography that when Tso became Viceroy in Nanking (Nanjing) several years later he "commanded the district magistrates to see to the suitable establishment of Christian Missions in Nanking." This attitude reflected a change from the former obstructionist official policy in operation for many years, and Richard implied their meeting that day may have softened Tso's attitude somewhat toward Christianity.

59. This may have been the yet unlocated pamphlet "Chin-shih yiao-wu" (*Present Needs* or, as another translated the title, *Urgent Affairs to Recent Times*), that Bohr referred to that was serialized earlier under the same title in the WKKP in "twelve weekly installments between November 1881 and January 1882." Bohr, *Famine in China*, 148-161. Richard referred to this in the preface of *Hsi-to (Xi de)* ("Warning Bell from the West") written in 1895. An English translation of this preface is available in Bert Hideo Kikuchi, "Timothy Richard's Influence on the Missionary Movement and Chinese Reform in Late Ch'ing China" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1969), 113. An incomplete translation of an essay by Richard from *Hsi-to* on the material and educational superiority of Western powers follows in Kikuchi's thesis (114). The reform recommendations Richard made in 1880 obviously antedated Cheng

Kuan-ying's reform ideas relating to schools and Western learning, particularly the study of law and politics, contained in his "Words of Warning to a Prosperous Age (People?)" published in 1892. An English review of this book is available in *Chinese Recorder* 30: April 1899, 195-198. Even though caustically anti-foreign and possessing hatred for Christianity, Cheng cited Richard as one of four missionary authors "worthy of commendation." The degree to which Richard's writings may have influenced the reformist thought of this anti-foreign compradore is yet to be researched.

60. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 173. Nevertheless, Richard's wife Mary in a letter dated 2 November 1882 to her father in Scotland alluded to the confidence the officials had in Richard, writing that T'aiyuan was "full of officials & Mr. Richard is the only one [missionary] who can (for some years at least) have dealings with them" (9).

61. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 172-173. Mention of a survey is made in a letter from Mary Richard to her sister(?) Mary Jane dated 18 May 1882, 4.

62. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 173. In Mary Richard's letter dated 29 August 1882 to her sister Mary Jane, another explanation was given why Chang's reforms were not initiated in Shansi. Mary Richard wrote, "I fear that [foreign improvements] is set on one side for some time at least, as the Treasurer says he can't grant funds for any such purpose at present. They say he was piqued at not being taken into counsel from the first on the matter" (2).

63. E. W. Price Evans in his book *Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945) wrote that "Whitewright gratefully acknowledged his deep indebtedness to him [Richard], and confessed that but for Richard's influence his famous Missionary Museum (or Institute), opened in 1887 in Ch'ing-chou-fu and then, in 1904, transferred to Chi-nan-fu, might never have come into existence" (90). By the time Richard published his autobiography in 1916, he claimed the Institute had close to a thousand visitors a day and had received more than a half million visitors since its inception. He described it as "by far the most remarkable Institute in the world." Richard clearly implied the establishment of this museum and its lecture series was the direct result of these discussions of his educational work in T'aiyuan with Whitewright in the early 1880's. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 180.

64. Timothy Richard to Baynes, 2 February 1884.

65. Mary Richard to James Martin, BMS MSS, 14 June 1882, 2f.

There were several levels to the Civil Service Examinations. The preliminary examinations were given at the prefecture and district levels. If a scholar were successful at these levels, the next level was the provincial examination which was given every three years. The successful passing of this examination elevated the man and his family in social status and access to power and wealth. This was the Triennial

Examination. There were at least two other levels, the National and Palace Examinations held in Peking, each offering differing rewards and status. Ping Wen Kuo, *The Chinese System of Public Education* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915), 62.

These examinations were based almost exclusively on Confucian literature. Some twenty years earlier, however, Chinese officials had begun to recommend revising the content of this examination system, but no official reform of the content had occurred. Richard's effort had nothing to do with the official examination. The contest merely attempted to introduce Western learning and Christianity to an elite corps of scholars hopefully to engender a more positive attitude toward native and foreign Christians and Western learning.

66. Because of the T'aiping's indirect association with Christianity, however loose it might have been, Chinese officials understandably greeted penetration of China by the Protestant missionaries with great suspicion.

67. There had been numerous outbreaks against foreign missionaries as well as the Chinese Christians since the end of the T'aiping Rebellion, and there was much unfavorable propaganda being circulated among the Chinese by their officials, some seeking to provoke persecution of all Christians. In response to A. G. Jones's appeal, the B.M.S. requested Richard and James to go to Peking specifically to seek the protection of the Chinese Christians and missionaries. They discussed the issue at length with the newly appointed British consul Sir Harry Parkes, Chinese Custom's Director Sir Robert Hart, and various missionaries. A proclamation was drafted and eventually delivered to Sir Harry for presentation. They spent a total of 21 weeks on this mission instead of the anticipated seven. Moreover, during this time there was also a groundbreaking work toward union among the missionary societies with Richard's assiduous efforts leading to the founding of the Evangelical Alliance for which he served as its secretary. This presaged the missionary union efforts some forty years later. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 185-193; Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 8 March 1884, 1; Timothy Richard and Francis H. James to Sir Harry Parkes, BMS MSS, 5 May 1884; Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 31 May 1884, 1-3; Mary Richard to brother and sisters (Edinburgh), BMS MSS, 4 August 1884, 2.

68. It seems likely that Richard and James had developed their own suggestions for remedies. The B.M.S. had also written Lord Granville who in turn forwarded "definite proposals" to Sir Harry Parkes, but the missionaries "knew nothing of them except a general account given by Mr. [A. G.?] Jones." Richard "felt we were not placed in a very advantageous position." Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 31 May 1884, 3.

It is safe to say that over the next twenty years more than 300 foreign missionaries and uncounted thousands of native Christian lost their lives due to violence against them by the Chinese. Because of its prevalence, Richard revisited this issue

with the Chinese government many times until his departure from China in 1916. This was an issue that could not easily be resolved.

69. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 191.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Richard wrote that the Marquis Tseng earlier had recommended the establishment of an "International College . . . where missionaries and Chinese officials may mix freely and be mutually benefitted." Richard, "Christian Persecutions in China," 246. Perhaps this finally came to fruition with the eventual establishment of the International Institute in Peking by Gilbert Reid. However, in this 1884 article, Richard recommended "to have *not one but twenty Chinese-supported T'ung-wen Colleges, established in the various provinces of the Empire*" [Emphasis, mine] (246). This is an expanded version of the system of famine orphan schools he had proposed seven years earlier to officials in Shantung. By this time, he sought to target the scholars for this new system. This concept antedates by more than a decade the "memorials of Kang Youwei in 1895 . . . [which were] the first known attempt to envisage a true system of modern education which would subordinate examinations to the school and in which a large part of the school curriculum would be devoted to the teaching of sciences, technological skills, arts, and Western law." Marianne Bastid, *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China* translated by Paul J. Bailey (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1988), 12. Bastid also wrote that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was most probably the source of the 1896 memorial by Li Tuan-fen (Li Duanfen) detailing this system. *Ibid.* These memorials most likely were submitted in 1898 during the Hundred Days Reform not 1896. *K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and a Symposium*, edited, with translation by Jung-Pang Lo (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press), 104-106, 110. Nevertheless, whether in 1896 or 1898, it is highly probable that Richard was the source for the idea of a system of government-supported educational institutions as this was the very plan he had been promoting since 1877. Furthermore, it is an incontrovertible fact that Richard had personal relationships with both men beginning as early as 1894; it is most likely that they were already familiar with his writings and translations for at least four years, since he served as editor of the Li's reformist newspaper *Shih Pao* in 1890.

72. Richard, "Christian Persecutions in China," 246-247.

73. Perhaps this was a reaction not only to what Richard experienced with the Chinese but also with his missionary colleagues. Most of those within the missionary community in T'aiyuan were members of the CIM, a British mission society which eschewed the necessity of education in preparation for missionary service. As a result, many of the CIM missionaries while devoted in their Christian faith were unenlightened in the scientific understanding of their modern world. On the other hand, many of the

missionaries with whom he worked when he first arrived in China were educated, as was he, and were committed to educating the Chinese.

74. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 193. In his letter to Baynes dated 2 February 1884, Richard outlines a training program he developed for his native evangelists. After itinerating in pairs for three weeks, they would return to the missionary center for a week of rest and study. "The subjects studied were geography, history, Christian Endeavors, Church Hist. and Christian biography. A new branch of study with them was that of the Sacred Books of one of the Secret Societies of China—probably not studied by any other Evangelist in China" (2). This welding of various social sciences and geography with the study of an aspect of the indigenous culture may be viewed as another of Richard's earliest efforts to introduce Western learning among the "worthy," the seekers of truth, who were usually the more educated Chinese. This was also the introduction of a new scientific approach to missions. See Rita T. Johnson, "Timothy Richard's Theory of Christian Missions to the Non-Christian World" (Ph.D. diss, St. John's University, 1966).

75. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 193.

76. *Ibid.* The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (S.D.K. or the *Kuang Hsueh Hui*, *Guang Xue Hui*) was founded in 1887 from the earlier Chinese Book and Tract Society by Dr. Alexander Williamson, a friend of Richard's from their early days in Shantung. This S.D.K. was the same organization to which Richard was appointed General Secretary in 1891 upon the death of Williamson. The S.D.K. was renamed the Christian Literature Society (C.L.S.) in 1906, the eventual realization of Richard's proposal made to his Shansi missionary colleagues in 1884 for the formation just such a society.

77. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 194.

78. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III REFINING THE REFORMER, 1885-1891

During the first fifteen years he was in China, Richard's missionary work evolved through several approaches. When he first came to China, he engaged in the traditional evangelistic work which was directed more to the masses—street preaching, tract distribution, itinerating, and instruction in Christian doctrine. Within a few years, he changed his approach. He assumed Chinese apparel, which enabled him to move within Chinese society more freely without attracting to himself undue attention, seeking out the more educated Chinese with whom he would discuss various religious and philosophical issues. With the onset of the famine of 1876-79, Richard added yet another dimension to his missionary service—practical works. This included providing basic medical care, setting up distribution centers for food and money during the famine, and establishing orphanages and schools for the young famine survivors.

During his famine relief efforts, Richard had experienced much resistance on the part of the officials, even within the same province, to providing for the needs of the people. Some of this was due to the fear of the loss of their power but other was the ignorance of practical knowledge and the benefit that could accrue to them with peaceful relations with representatives of Western nations, most particularly the missionaries located within China's borders. Through conversations with various

officials in Shantung and Shansi Provinces in these famine years, Richard had become convinced that education in practical Western learning was the key. Through this, the Chinese leaders could develop understanding of the laws of God working in the forces of nature and then learn how to utilize these forces for the benefit of their people, particularly to avoid future famines. The ultimate purpose of this Western learning, however, was to open these leaders to the Christian faith. In Shansi, he single-handedly began this process of enlightening the scholars and officials with lectures and demonstrations of scientific Western learning. Soon he came to realize that the benefit to them and all of the province could be multiplied if some sort of institutional setting for this knowledge exchange could be established. At first, Richard believed this could be accomplished through establishing a reading room or library staffed by an educated missionary. There the scholars could come to read, discuss, and discover the newest information and inventions from Western countries that could improve the welfare of the people. Very soon, however, Richard knew this setting with one man would be insufficient to meet the need. By 1882 he had formalized this idea to be a college, staffed by several educated missionaries, where the student selection and learning process was more formalized. In 1884 he approached his Shansi missionary colleagues and received their backing for this idea.

Enthusiastic about their support, by the time Richard left for his first furlough in 1885, his idea had expanded to become a passionate vision which included all the provinces in China with the college in T'aiyuan as the model. One of the primary reasons he chose to return to England at this time was to solicit the support of his Home

Mission Committee to spearhead a movement to provide a united financial backing for his educational vision which by now had become a specific scheme.¹ As he prepared his presentation, he saw there would be many benefits that could accrue from such an effort. First, the officials would gain scientific information through the Western learning which could avert future famines thereby benefitting the people. Second, if the instruction in the Western learning were taught by missionaries, it could open the scholars, and ultimately all the people, to the Christian faith and engender peaceful relations between Chinese and missionaries, particularly the British. Third, employment of these principles undergirding Western learning would lead then to the modernization and reform of China, enabling the most populous country in the world to enter trade and international diplomacy with Western nations as a peer. Fourth, the uniting of effort among the mission societies would remove needless duplication and competition enabling a more efficient use of missionary funds and personnel.

In 1885 Richard carefully presented his scheme to the Baptist Missionary Society which then printed the written proposal to be "distributed now amongst the Sub Committee for China so that they may master the details of the scheme."² He had "wished all the missionary societies [in Great Britain] to unite in establishing a high-class missionary college in each provincial capital, beginning with the maritime provinces, in the hope of influencing the leaders of the Empire to accept Christianity."³ The scheme also called for a united effort by British mission societies to provide "highly qualified missionaries" (preferably and predominantly degree men but including women) to establish a "high-class Training Institution—not inferior to our

University Colleges” in each of the nineteen provincial capitals. These were to train the Chinese scholars as evangelists through a Christian curriculum emphasizing modern science, geography, and modern world history—the essence of Western learning.⁴ After considering Richard’s proposal as described in *A Scheme for Mission Work in China*, the Sub Committee for China rejected it because the “scheme was far too great for their funds.”⁵ They did agree, however, to send “6 additional men and these specifically qualified so that they may [be] engaged in the best way possible.”⁶ After its rejection, Richard reemphasized, but to no avail, “the importance of opening colleges in the provincial capitals for the *training of accomplished native missionaries* [Emphasis, mine] who would be given, besides theological work, courses of study in the various branches of knowledge taught in Western Universities.”⁷

The scheme was subsequently referred to the General Committee for final consideration. Furthermore, it appears that Richard “to save time” sent copies of the scheme to other mission societies while he was awaiting the final decision by the B.M.S.⁸ Richard expected to get their decision about this educational scheme as early as its May 7th meeting but surely by June; by May 15th the Committee still had “not given Mr. Richard what he wanted; kind words & promises bounded by ifs but nothing more definite.”⁹ Likewise, the B.M.S. General Committee insisted that the scheme was beyond their financial means. When Richard finally got their decision, he was bitterly disappointed by what he regarded as their short-sightedness. He wrote, “After this I began to realize that God would have me bear my cross alone, and that I must fit myself more fully for influencing the leaders of China.”¹⁰

The remainder of his time in England was spent in gathering and dispersing information pertinent to education of the Chinese in Western learning. To fit himself further for the task of educating the scholars in Shansi, Richard took a course at South Kensington.¹¹ Also, because of "[b]eing interested in the education of the Chinese," he wanted to know better the best educational systems on the Continent. In June 1886, Richard went to Berlin and Paris to seek information about these systems. While in Berlin, he met with the Minister of Education who angrily refused to provide him any information; however, the Vice-President of Education, who was a Christian, "most readily gave [him] all the information" he wanted. When he went to Paris, the Minister of Education was out of town. Richard reported he got no information from his visit to Paris other than the knowledge that they wanted to remove the name of God from their schoolbooks.¹² Richard also used the remainder of his furlough to share information about his work in China with different English churches and religious organizations. Perhaps he was in hopes of stirring up enough interest in his work, particularly the educational project, that financial commitments would be made to back the effort. He reported that "several are impressed with the importance of the work considerably." One gentleman was willing to give £1,000 while another had "taken the matter up rather enthusiastically and says that he can't see why the Denomination cannot raise £20,000."¹³ These speaking engagements were at the B.M.S. General Conference, Spurgeon's Cathedral, the Religious Tract Society, and even a united missions meeting of Baptists and Congregationalists as well as individual churches in Watford, Hastings,

Cardiff, and Edinburgh, to name just a few. While encouraged somewhat by the interest shown, he felt the overall response was far less than the need.

By September 1886, the Richards were aboard the S.S. Oxus on their way back to China. Richard was in deep anguish over the Committee's continued refusal to support his educational scheme yet he remained undaunted in his vision. He most likely determined to launch a solitary crusade to seek the enlightenment of the Chinese scholars as well as his personal vindication. In a letter written early in the voyage, it is noteworthy that Richard commented, in passing, about Marquis Tseng's early disembarkment. He but gave no indication if they had any discussions before Tseng's departure.¹⁴ Within a few years, however, this same Marquis Tseng had become a supporter of Richard's ideas for educational reform.

The Richards reached China early in November and were back safely ensconced at their home in T'aiyuan just after New Year's 1887.¹⁵ They had been away nearly two years. By that time, a few reinforcements from the B.M.S. had indeed arrived, but Richard believed the number was still too few for the need. Apparently, Shantung was getting the larger number of reinforcements for a work that covered only eight counties; whereas, Christian tracts had been distributed in all 108 counties in Shansi, 71 under Richard's superintendence.¹⁶ Richard, therefore, felt it only right that the greater number of reinforcements should be sent to Shansi Province as it was the newer developing field having greater breadth. Therefore, soon after his return to T'aiyuan, he spearheaded a resolution signed by all six Shansi B.M.S. missionaries requesting the Home Committee to send fourteen more missionaries to Shansi.¹⁷ This resolution was

most likely drawn up prior to Richard's becoming aware of the opposition against him by his missionary colleagues.

When Richard had first arrived in China, he had been just like most of the other missionaries. His approach had been one of orthodox fundamentalism whose primary concern was "saving souls" and whose only source of truth was the Bible. Within five years, however, he had experienced a paradigm shift which had pressed him to begin to "seek the worthy." To prepare himself for this, Richard had eagerly studied the literature of the indigenous religions and philosophies. He began to approach the educated Chinese or the leaders of the indigenous faiths rather than the teeming illiterate masses. This was considered contrary to orthodox practice. His sympathetic reading of this Chinese literature and his willingness to thoughtfully investigate these other religions and philosophies, sifting out what he discerned to be good or worthy of consideration, was considered unorthodox. Some of his more conservative missionary colleagues, many being members of China Inland Missions or those from his own B.M.S. with fewer years experience in China, believed these practices to be equivalent of heresy.¹⁸ By the time he had left for furlough in 1885, however, he was the senior missionary in T'aiyuan, perhaps the oldest and best educated as well. Most likely, they did not feel at liberty to chastise him. The final straw for his colleagues seems to have come, however, soon after his return from this furlough. Richard likely attempted to continue his missionary work in the same vein as he had before his furlough; however, by this time the CIM had sent more missionaries, and the B.M.S. had sent young inexperienced reinforcements whose theology and methodology echoed that of the CIM.

Therefore, Richard and those in sympathy with his thinking and approach now found themselves in the minority.

Unbeknownst to Richard, some of these newer colleagues not only did not endorse his methodology but had actively opposed it. Some of these, it seems, had written letters back to the B.M.S. General Secretary criticizing Richard's lack of orthodoxy in his missionary approach and theology; one letter "inadvertently" appeared in the August 1886 issue of *Missionary Herald*, the missions publication of the B.M.S. This issue came out while the Richards were en route to China, so Richard had not seen it. His autobiography revealed that what irked him most at first was not so much their criticism but their unwillingness to wait to discuss their criticisms with him before sending the letters "reporting" on him.¹⁹ One item it criticized was the catechism he had written for new believers, particularly since he had placed within it the "Order of Study in Our Religion." This last included what he saw would be appropriate practice and study for six different levels of affiliation with the mission. Those who entertained the idea of achieving the fourth level of being a Minister and beyond were expected to engage in a study program which included various forms of Western learning—European mental and moral philosophy, geography, geology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, Western medicine, Western history, music for worship—in addition to parallel forms of Chinese learning and Christian subjects.²⁰

As their opposition grew more vitriolic, Richard chose to stop going to the meeting of the Local Missionary Committee even though he was its secretary.²¹ Richard also wrote a detailed many-paged letter to Mr. Baynes, perhaps as a belated

response to the published letter and his colleagues' letters.²² He subsequently sent a voluminous letter to the Committee of the B.M.S. also detailing his "position." In it, Richard recounted that "objection was made 3 years" before to some expression used in a Chinese translation about the life of the devout Roman Catholic *Fabiola*, intimating some points of disagreement may have been long-standing.²³ In this same letter to the Committee, Richard asked them "to judge whether you think I am still worthy of your support or not."²⁴ He declared his willingness to accept the invitation to go to Peking to do translation work with the former missionary Dr. Edkins or to relocate to a coastal city.²⁵ Finally, Richard felt it behooved him to leave Shansi Province in the interest of unity within the missionary community. Years later, Richard characteristically wrote very little about this conflict in his autobiography (only two paragraphs). It is also significant that there continued to be attacks against his theological and methodological stance from members of the Shansi B.M.S. missionary community even after 1890, more than three years after he left.²⁶

During this time of internal conflict, Richard gave little attention to implementing his educational scheme since it had now become one of the central issues in the controversy within the missionary community. He obviously focused much of his time and energies on clarifying to his home mission board his theology and missionary approach, which involving defending his educational program for native evangelists. However, he did continue to have personal conversations with various scholars, Buddhists lamas, and officials in the government. Moreover, in the first five months after their return to T'aiyuan, Richard delivered eight lectures to provincial

officials.²⁷ Though embroiled in this controversy, Richard never lost sight of his personal injunction to "seek the worthy."

Mary disclosed in a letter that there were by then 18 adults and eight children in their missionary community. She added the side question after that fact—"too many for one city don't you think?"²⁸ By autumn 1887, Richard chose to leave Shansi Province because it was clear to him that as colleagues they "could never work harmoniously together. To remain would induce permanent strife, which would be fatal to missionary work."²⁹

They went to Peking for a short time, but by November they found themselves in T'ientsin (Tianjin) where Richard was offered a salaried position (£600 per annum) to do translation work at the Arsenal, a military school and translation bureau run by the Chinese government. He declined this offer because he still "could not contemplate breaking with missionary work."³⁰ They returned to Peking to await a reply from the B.M.S. to his request to establish a B.M.S. work in Peking. Richard took advantage of this time by writing the pamphlet *Modern Education in Seven Nations*, which he distributed among the leading Chinese officials there. In the pamphlet, he "suggested that the Government should commence educational reforms by setting apart a million taels annually for it."³¹ Richard finally did receive the Society's reply stating that no new work would be opened in Peking but that he should return to his first field of endeavor in Shantung. By now, however, Richard was so firmly convinced of the usefulness of his educational scheme that in his reply to the B.M.S.'s answer he insisted that he be permitted to found a college of Western learning in Shantung once he

relocated there. Again he awaited the B.M.S. General Committee's decision about his future work.³²

Richard knew he could no longer follow his former orthodox missions methodology, but he believed his "call" was to the higher class using an educational or literary approach. Hence, he had agreed to return to Shantung only "if they would allow me to establish a Christian college at Chinan fu [Jinan], the capital."³³ While waiting, he continued his personal contacts among the Chinese officials and also began to consider how to equip this new educational work in Shantung. The Committee's answer, in a letter dated September 26th received some time before Christmas. Various issues encompassed by the controversy in Shansi were revisited in this letter, much to Richard's distress. It also addressed Richard's continued service through the Society. The Committee again recommended Richard go posthaste to Shantung. When this possibility had been explored before, the Shantung colleagues had resolved that Richard should adhere to established B.M.S. practice elucidated in the Local Committee policy. Richard, in turn, had declined their invitation because, from all appearances, he knew he would not be afforded the autonomy and liberty to engage in the kind of missionary work that he believed God had specifically called him. His reply reiterated the reasons he departed Shansi then later declined the invitation to work in Shantung. He also wrote that he was "trying to find out if there be any means by which I can do missionary work and support myself at the same time."³⁴ In a letter posted less than a month later, Richard boldly placed for the first time partial responsibility for the Shansi difficulties on the doorstep of the B.M.S. in London.³⁵ Perhaps he believed that they

could not have an objective view of the particular needs in China so long as they remained in London. Moreover, he seemed distressed that the home society continued to receive letters from the B.M.S. missionaries in Shansi about him. Perhaps he wondered why they did not exercise more supervisory discipline over the younger inexperienced missionaries in Shansi. For these reasons he requested the B.M.S. in London send a deputation to China to study their missionary efforts there. In this same letter, Richard made it clear he was not resisting their direction to go to Shantung as he was leaving soon to go to Shantung with his former Shantung colleague A.G. Jones, who had been sent to bring him to Shantung to discuss further his possible placement there.

He spent five weeks in Shantung "conferring with the brethren there about the future of mission work in China." After his return to Peking the end of February 1888, Richard submitted a report to the Home Secretary of the mission society concerning the outcome of his visit.

Now they will write you of the new conditions which they offer. They do not ask the former pledges. They wish me—to start a small newspaper, and to start an Institution for the educated and leading classes in Tsinanfu. They suggest—

- (a) the appointment of one European and two Chinese to assist me
- (b) that funds to get suitable teaching appliances and apparatus be got from private individuals in England.³⁶

For the next two years, Richard and Baynes exchanged numerous letters thrashing out not only the past controversy in Shansi but now the issues involved in Richard's joining his colleagues in Shantung. Because the Shansi colleagues were

continuing to question his orthodoxy, Richard did not want to have to endure this same questioning of his methods by less experienced colleagues in Shantung. Therefore, he hinged his placement in Shantung on an absolute demand for autonomy within a divided field of labor, of which his responsibility would be the educational and literary work within a two county area, which included the provincial capital of Tsinan. This would give him the needed liberty to establish the college and run the newspaper. His colleagues in Shantung seemed supportive of his plan, but such an educational and literary work of this nature was a drastic departure from the B.M.S.'s adherence to the traditional modes of missionary work in chapel preaching, itineration, and tract distribution. Perhaps it would be disapproved of by B.M.S.'s donating public.

Notwithstanding the continuing controversy with the B.M.S. now in both Shansi and Shantung, Richard's time in Peking was productive in terms of translation work, presenting papers, and developing relationships with like-minded missionaries and various Chinese leaders.³⁷ Most pertinent to this study was the pamphlet on modern education, mentioned above, in which he described the educational systems or methods of seven leading nations of the world. In it he "emphasized four methods of education—the historical, the comparative, the general, and the particular." He set forth to demonstrate the inextricable relationship between specific knowledge or education and the progress of a nation. He distributed this pamphlet "among the leading statesmen in Peking and personally presented it to Li Hung-chang in T'ientsin."³⁸ It was probably during this visit with Li that Richard presented him the proposal that the "Chinese Government should commence educational reform by setting apart for it a million taels

annually."³⁹ Richard was clear in this interview this was "seed money" with a hundred-fold return sure to be realized, but only after twenty years. To that, Li responded China could not wait that long. In 1888 Richard presented Marquis Tseng a copy of this scheme for modern education in China which "he [Tseng] approved of it most enthusiastically, and urged me to circulate the treatise amongst the highest officials, as he was convinced that the only hope for China lay in education."⁴⁰

While he waited, Richard also began to consider how to equip this new educational work in Shantung, but meanwhile he and his wife started "a high class school in which the pupils were to pay for their education."⁴¹ Among those enrolled were three Japanese and one Chinese who was studying mathematics.⁴² Richard took further advantage of this hiatus in his assigned missionary work to visit Japan in the spring of 1888 to study mission methods used there. He found that the "educational work I was urging on the B.M.S. was being carried out in Japan with great success."⁴³

On his return to China, however, Richard heard from the Committee "though they would sanction my work among the *literati* and officials, they could not support any educational institution, as they considered that the Churches would not approve of such a use of their Mission funds."⁴⁴ Once again greatly disappointed with the refusal of the B.M.S. to support this educational endeavor, Richard considered withdrawing from the B.M.S. When his former Shantung colleague A. G. Jones received word of what Richard was considering, he telegraphed him convincing him to wait on this decision until they could visit Shantung together. In September 1888 they did go to Shantung together where Richard personally presented to his missionary colleagues not

only his vision for a Christian college in Chinan-fu but also his need for autonomy within a field in which there was to be an equitable division of labor. He felt assured of their overall support for his educational effort because when he returned to Peking he moved his family back to T'ientsin in May 1889, most likely in preparation for their eventual relocation to Shantung.

In the meantime, famine again raged in Shantung. Richard chose to return almost immediately, in June, first to lend his experience to their relief efforts then later to attend their local missionary conference. On this occasion, however, he did not avoid the dreaded illness "famine fever" which usually follows in the wake of famine, as he had during his relief efforts in 1876-79; he contracted it, and for a time was imminently in danger of his life.⁴⁵ Then, while still convalescing from his attack of "famine fever," he was urged to attend the local conference of the Shantung B.M.S. missionaries for the discussion of his proposed educational scheme for Shantung. There his "scheme of educational work was agreed to by the Shantung colleagues, and a letter was sent to the B.M.S. with the signatures of them all, twelve in number."⁴⁶ These colleagues also suggested he move to Chinan-fu in October. Still in a weakened conditioned condition from the "famine fever," Richard succumbed during the first meeting of the conference to "neural prostration" or perhaps "malarial paralysis," common sequel to the dreaded "famine fever."⁴⁷ This caused him great pain and the incapacitation of his right arm for a time, even delaying his return to T'ientsin. His wife, also reported to be ill at the time, was "ordered" to go to enjoy the sea air at

Chefoo "for a change."⁴⁸ She had not been informed of the gravity of his illness until he arrived at the coast to convalesce being carried there on a litter at night.⁴⁹

By early October 1889, they had returned to Tientsin to await the Home Committee's response to Richard's letter written from Chefoo informing them of his illness and his inability to return to Shantung due to his medical condition. Richard still needed assistance writing, and his wife Mary continued as his able secretary.⁵⁰ Richard was recovering very slowly, and the medical doctor supervising his care said in early October "it would be madness" for Richard to think of relocating to Chinan at that time.⁵¹ Some time later in October 1889, Richard received a reply from the B.M.S. in London that "the Committee once more rejected the scheme of a Christian college."⁵² As one protesting member of the Committee disclosed, this was first time in at least twenty years the Committee had denied a unanimous request from the mission field.⁵³ The emotional shock of the continued rejection of his educational plan most probably slowed his recovery, and perhaps he even suffered a relapse as his wife continued to have to do most of his writing, even six months later.

At this juncture, he pondered about what to do next. He knew he could never again work under a forced co-pastorate system as he had experienced in Shansi. He knew he worked best autonomously, as by necessity he had needed to do most of his first years in China. He was sorely disappointed that the Home Committee had once again squashed his plan to establish a college of Western learning in a provincial capital, this time in Chinan. He was convinced that he was to use a different method in his missions work than most other missionaries. He knew he could no longer in good

conscience engage in the traditional method of targeting the masses using the direct evangelistic approach of preaching and tract distribution. He knew he was called to the "educated" and was to employ educational and/or literary means to reach them. He believed if the leaders were converted to Christianity then the welfare of the masses would be improved-- intellectually, socially, politically, materially, morally, and spiritually.⁵⁴ The infrequent letters from Richard to Baynes during his continued convalescence were most often still written by his wife, but they continued to indicate a willingness to go to Shantung if certain conditions were assured.⁵⁵

However, Richard was not totally inactive during this time of recovery. Apparently, he was engaged in literary work, submitting for publication in Shantung a four-volume work with two other volumes in process.⁵⁶ Apparently, some of his efforts bore evangelistic fruit as well. In a March 1890 letter written by his wife, Richard disclosed that "a devout man" who had come to them as an inquirer some months before was baptized. Richard wrote further that the first thing this literary man did after his baptism "was to write a Tract giving his reasons for having become a Christian."⁵⁷ In his autobiography, however, Richard wrote nothing about his activities during this time except to disclose that in May 1890 he presented the paper "The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government" to the Second General Missionary Conference in Shanghai (the first was held in 1877 but he had been unable to attend because of his famine relief work).⁵⁸ Richard "prophesied" in this paper that if the Government did not do something to quell the negative propaganda coming out against Christians then a new wave of persecution would occur. Some colleagues

believed this to be too "gloomy" a picture, nevertheless appointed a committee to study the matter and draft a memorial to present to the Throne. Richard and six others were appointed to this committee, but before this memorial could be drawn up, a number of violent outbreaks did occur in the Yangtze (Yangze) Valley. Richard quickly went to Wuchang (Wuhan) to prevail upon the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, a former governor of Shansi on whom Richard previously had a significant influence, to intervene, but Chang received him coolly doing nothing. Richard then returned to T'ientsin where he made the same request of Li Hung-chang again with no evident action taken. Much later a memorial was drawn up and presented by this Committee, but violent acts continued to be perpetrated against Christians for many years.

In a letter following the conference in Shanghai, Richard disclosed to Baynes that he "felt very loathe to continue to draw my salary to do work in which I was but partially supported."⁵⁹ In this same communication, Richard also wrote that he "must write a report of [his] state of health and of the important steps" he had just taken in consequence of his health. He again had been medically advised not to relocate to Shantung to take up the strenuous missionary work there. He then disclosed he had received and accepted an offer to become editor of an experimental Chinese daily newspaper in Tientsin beginning the next month, July 1st. Viceroy Li Hung-chang and some personal friends had offered Richard the opportunity to "become editor of a daily paper in Chinese, called the *Shih Pao* [*Shi Bao*]. . . . The appointment was most providential."⁶⁰ He stated it would enable him to engage in "one part of the work appointed me by the Society to do in Chinan and would reach four Provinces instead of

one—and that including Shansi and Peking—this without any cost to the Society, not even my salary.”⁶¹ After prayer and consulting with the leading missionaries in Tientsin (his B.M.S. colleagues were a seven to ten-day journey away), Richard was convinced that it would be better for him a Christian to fill the editorship than a non-Christian. Furthermore, he probably was hopeful this would present an amicable resolution to the long-standing controversy in Shansi as well as the questions surrounding his placement in Shantung. With the acceptance of this position with the *Shih Pao*, Richard finally left the fold of the Baptist Missionary Society, something he long resisted doing because of his deep commitment to serving as a Christian missionary. He stated this was to be only until a time in the future when his health would be “more fully restored and until the way be opened for fuller work in connection with the Society.”⁶²

Richard, in truth, as editor of the *Shih Pao* was offered a different kind of “pulpit” from which to preach “good news.” Through the agency of this newspaper, he had greater autonomy and freedom to proclaim his reformist ideas for the benefit of the Chinese. These were ideas which he held dear yet few Chinese, even though in agreement, were at liberty to expound because of official conservatism. Conceivably, Li may have one of those officials who felt constrained to say more. Thus, it is conceivable that Li sought to exploit Richard’s zeal for reform at this time to blast open the logjam of Chinese conservatism.

For approximately one year, then, Richard “wrote on many subjects bearing on reform in China.”⁶³ In this newspaper he introduced not only new ideas for reform but

a new form of journalism. Rather than a dull recital of official decrees from the Court, Richard sought to educate his readership. He utilized comparative diagrams on various subjects—education, trade, railways, population, and the like for various nations—with the purpose in mind of moving Chinese officials towards a greater awareness of their country's needs and of the means by which they might meet them and with what benefits.⁶⁴ Richard believed that "[t]hese diagrams proved probably one of the greatest forces in compelling intelligent Chinese to advocate reform."⁶⁵ He also included similar information as he had presented to the officials and scholars in his three years of lectures in T'aiyuan during the early 1880s. When persecution broke out against missionaries, Richard "wrote 6 Leaders upon the subject some of them double the usual length giving a full account of Missions work throughout the Empire and throughout the world besides giving [shorter] frequent reports of Mission work."⁶⁶ His Japanese readers were also appreciative of the articles he wrote on the reform taking place in Japan. Later when the heir apparent of Russia, later to become Czar, was to come to China to break ground for the building of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, he first went to Japan but "encountered difficulties" during his visit there. Richard desiring to allay the fears of the Chinese as well as the Japanese wrote many articles for the *Shih Pao* about the protocol of royal visits among European countries as fostering peace and goodwill.⁶⁷

The newspaper apparently gained the attention of Chinese leaders and others that Richard had hoped for. Thus, he later reported that the statesman Chang Chih-tung "wired to me [Richard] from Wuchang for copies to be sent direct to him."⁶⁸

Moreover, "[the] 5 other Daily Papers conducted by Chinamen [sic]—2 in Shanghai, 2 in Hong-Kong and 1 in Canton—after the first month or two began to copy our Leaders in theirs."⁶⁹ By "the second moon of the year they copied among them no less than 15 of our Leaders!"⁷⁰ Within a year, however, just when the readership seemed to be expanding, the financial support for publishing the newspaper was exhausted and the newspaper folded. At the end of June 1891, with this closing of the *Shih Pao*, Richard found himself once again at a crossroads. Should he go to Shantung as the B.M.S. had requested the year before? Or what should he do? What he did do was continue his various personal literary endeavors. Soon thereafter Richard was invited to become the General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (S.D.K.), an event he viewed as providential.⁷¹

With the untimely death of his friend the Rev Dr. A. G. Williamson the year before, the position of General Secretary S.D.K. had become vacant. As Williamson was a long-time friend and they had both been involved in large scale literary endeavors, it is most probable that Richard knew of S.D.K.'s extremity. Did Richard actively pursue placement there? There is no record among Richard's personal correspondence to that effect, but it is not altogether unlikely that he may have pursued it through other means, such as by personal reference.⁷²

Williamson's death, then, caused the Executive Committee of the S.D.K. to reevaluate its status. Likely familiar with Richard's writings in the *Shih Pao*, the Committee desired to extend an invitation to Richard to fill the vacant General Secretary's chair. The Committee apparently felt assured Richard had the sympathies

and competencies equal to the task. Richard, on the other hand, "[h]aving experienced the widespread influence of a newspaper, I [Richard] was convinced of the value of literary work in China. . . ."⁷³ The S.D.K., however, was in no financial position to offer a salary, and Richard was no longer the salaried editor of the *Shih Pao* nor was he receiving any financial support from the B.M.S. When the S.D.K.'s Executive Committee did offer him the position, he accepted it provided he received certain assurances of support from the B.M.S. He requested the B.M.S. begin again to provide financial support as his predecessor's mission board had done before and as Murdock's board provided for him in India.⁷⁴ The B.M.S. eventually did agree, perhaps reluctantly, to support Richard for three years. Prior to leaving T'ientsin, Richard ". . . sent the Document abt. Modern Education to Mr. Loh who said that he would with pleasure put it before the Viceroy [Li Hung-chung]."⁷⁵ This document may have further established Richard's credentials with Li as the one who could later assist in the educational reform of China.

These reforms did, in fact, finally come within the next decade, in part, through Richard's efforts through the S.D.K. There began what scholars unanimously view as the most influential years of Richard's missionary career. Richard served as General Secretary of the S.D.K. until his retirement in 1915, some twenty-four years later. During these years, specifically 1891 to 1910, he used his role as the General Secretary of the S.D.K. and the various offices he held in the Education Association of China as the final means to disseminate his vision for the reform of higher education throughout all of China. He eventually saw this vision fulfilled first in the founding of the Imperial

University of Shansi in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan then in the consequent founding of the system of modern government-supported higher educational institutions in provincial capitals throughout the Empire.

By the he relocated to Shanghai as General Secretary of the S.D.K., Richard had endured almost five years in the refiner's crucible of conflict and uncertainty. The issues that had precipitated his departure from Shansi in 1887 had continued to follow him through criticism by former colleagues. His home committee had continued to insist that he engage in traditional missionary work, but, after almost twenty years in China, Richard believed he knew better what methods worked best there in China. He believed his talents could be best used in the literary and educational approaches. When invited to be editor of the reformist Chinese newspaper *Shih Pao*, he welcomed it. One reason was because it resolved the long-standing conflict by his withdrawal from the B.M.S. Another was that with it he could hone his literary skills as well broadcast to Chinese officials his ideas about Western learning. Very soon thereafter, however, he was invited to become the General Secretary of the S.D.K. This set the direction for the next twenty-four years of his missionary service in China and put forever behind him the demand by the B.M.S. that he follow the traditional approach to missions.

Notes

1. He recorded that this was the first time he articulated this plan to the home board's China Committee, although he had presented a similar plan first to his colleagues several months before in T'aiyuan. He did not expect the B.M.S. to provide

total support for this or any institution. He merely wanted the B.M.S. to marshal the support of all the missionary societies, regardless of denomination. He believed there were philanthropists who would also be eager to back such an effort. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 197-98.

A critical issue facing every missionary in the field is the education of their children. The Richards were no exception. While all the girls were being ably schooled by their mother at home in China, both Timothy and Mary decided they should be given the advantages of an English education. Timothy Richard, BMS MSS, 26 February? 1886. The two oldest, Mary and Ella, were enrolled at the Sevenoaks Boarding School; Florrie and Maggie returned to China with their parents. Mary Richard, BMS MSS, 17 April 1886; Mary Richard to "brother," BMS MSS, 26 April 1886; Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 7 August 1886. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 22 September 1886.

2. Timothy Richard, *A Scheme for Mission Work in China* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1885?); Timothy Richard to "Brother and Sister," BMS MSS, 26 February 1886.

3. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 198; Timothy Richard to Brother and Sister, BMS MSS, 26 February 1886.

4. Timothy Richard, "Outline— How to Get a Higher Class of Missionaries for China," handwritten mss, BMS MSS, June 1885?; Timothy Richard, *A Scheme for Mission Work in China*, [1885?], 4-5.

5. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 198.

Many years later, upon the official opening of the Imperial University of Shansi for classes, Richard wrote a letter to Baynes July 10, 1902, (on letterhead stationery for Shansi University, China) calling to his remembrance the Committee's earlier reluctance to support his scheme:

The University proposed by me to the B.M.S. in 1885-6 is now already opened at the expense of the Chinese government and your missionary Rev. Moir Duncan is the Principal of the whole Foreign Department. . . . When I suggested the same scheme kindly printed by Mr. Baynes that a similar Educational Institution be started in the capital of each of the 18 provinces Max Muller remarked to me that youth would often plant trees that would grow to the sky but Heaven takes care that they don't!

6. Timothy Richard to Brother and Sister, BMS MSS, 26 April? 1886.

7. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 199.

8. See n.a. [Mary Richard? dictated by Timothy Richard], handwritten "Note", n.d. [1885?]. Most probably, this note accompanied this pamphlet Richard had written and printed for the purpose of informing other mission societies in preparation for the union effort. Timothy Richard, *Wanted: Good Samaritans for China* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1885).

9. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 15 May 1886.

10. Such a scheme for even the 13 maritime province colleges would have cost approximately to one million taels [approximately \$730,000 total or \$56,000 per institution] the first year, and Richard was recommending these institutions in all nineteen provinces. In all fairness to the B.M.S., this amount was in fact beyond their financial capacities. However, Richard was not asking them to finance the entire endeavor; only that the B.M.S. coordinate a united effort by *all* British mission societies active in China to establish these institutions. Since Richard even then was a staunch advocate of self-support, most likely if he expected any financial support given to establish "some" of these colleges, it would be for only a fixed period of time at which time the Chinese government would take over their total support. Actually, Richard was in hopes that some British philanthropists would endow the institutions. Many points of this scheme became the germinal concepts that came to fruition in the founding of the Imperial University of Shansi in 1901 by Richard.

11. Mary Richard wrote that his physics course was being much interrupted by various meetings. However, Richard indicated he took a course in electrical engineering. Perhaps he took two different courses. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 1 March 1886; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 199.

12. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 200.

13. Timothy Richard to Brother?, BMS MSS, 11 March 1886.

14. Timothy Richard to Brother and Sister, BMS MSS, 16 September 1886. The Marquis Tseng was the son of the famous statesman Tseng Kuo-fan (Zeng Guofan). On one occasion, the Emperor's father requested some information relative the effect of the introduction of railways in London. Not having ready access to this information, the Marquis sought it through three other foreign missionaries until finally Timothy Richard's name was recommended. Richard was able to supply the information, and there began their friendship. Richard's wife Mary later taught English to his youngest son. As a former Minister to London and Paris, Marquis Tseng had developed an enduring interest in education, but he himself felt inhibited from actively seeking educational reform once returned to China because of criticism by the conservative faction in the government that he was unduly influence by foreigners. Earlier, he had made a recommendation for an institution in Peking where Chinese and foreigners could freely meet. After the Richards left T'aiyuan in 1887, they lived at different

times in Tientsin and Peking. On various occasions, Richard was invited to meet with Marquis Tseng in Peking, further evidence of a continuing relationship. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 26 November 1887.

15. Travel from Great Britain to China by steamship took approximately four months, so at least eight of the 24 months was spent in round trip travel between England and China.

16. Timothy Richard to Committee of the B.M.S., BMS MSS, 12 May 1887, 4.

17. Timothy Richard et al. to Committee, Baptist Missionary Society, BMS MSS, 4 March 1887; see also Timothy Richard, Arthur Sowerby, and J.J. Turner, "Statement of Facts being the Report of the Subcommittee on the Province of Shansi," handwritten mss, BMS MSS, February 1887.

18. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 204-206. See Lauren Pfister, *Position Paper, Rethinking Mission in China: James Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, North Atlantic Missiology Project, 1998), No. 68; Paul Cohen, *Missionary Approaches: Hudson Taylor and Timothy Richard* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, China Papers, XI, 1957), 29-62; Daniel B. Wright, "J. Hudson Taylor 1832-1905 and Timothy Richard 1845-1919: Two Unique Tools for God's Task in China" (unpublished student paper, Fuller Theological Seminary, Winter 1987) and A.J. Broomhall's *Assault on the Nine, Book Six: 1875-1887 of Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century* (London: Hodder & Stoughton and Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1988), 287-293. The first three are academic studies; the latter study is authored by a CIM missionary who happens to be the great-nephew of Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission now the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF). Richard's letters to the B.M.S. home secretary 1887-1888 were replete with his defense of his mission methodology. This researcher believes it is a vindication of Richard and Taylor's approaches that both are considered valid today.

19. Richard had been gone for nearly two years. The question that arises is why did the active opposition take so long to surface and mobilize? While there had always been a smoldering difference of opinion between CIM and Richard, perhaps it was not until one of the B.M.S. reinforcements, who had arrived during Richard's absence, became vocal in his opposition that they mounted their offensive. In a letter by Mary Richard much later, she mentioned that the Rev. Herbert Dixon was thought of as "Judas Iscariot" by the other passengers. It is likely that he was the agitator as he had an otherwise undistinguished career as a B.M.S. missionary in China notwithstanding his narrow escape from the Boxers in 1900.

20. Timothy Richard, "Translation of Order of Study in Our Religion," BMS MSS, handwritten manuscript, 1887. On close inspection, this appears to be the embryonic

form of the study program that Richard had hoped to initiate in the college of Western learning which he proposed in his union educational scheme to the B.M.S.

21. The first evidence by the Richards there was a problem appeared in Mary Richard's letter to her "sister," BMS MSS, 14 April 1887, fewer than four months after their return from England.

22. Richard called this letter dated 3 March 1887 the "Statement of Facts." It appears to be a defense of his missionary efforts and methodology.

23. Timothy Richard to Baynes and B.M.S. Committee, BMS MSS, 12 May 1887, 8. The fact that he wrote a sympathetic biography of a Roman Catholic was offensive to the more fundamentalist colleagues. Historically, the more fundamentalist denominations seem to have had an antipathy towards the Roman Catholic church.

24. Richard to Committee of the B.M.S., BMS MSS, 12 May 1887, 15.

25. They expected this move to be approved and take place in August 1887. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 23 June 1887, 1.

26. Those he named in his correspondence to the B.M.S. General Secretary were the younger missionaries who had just been sent to China as his reinforcements. It must be kept in mind that Richard himself as a zealous young missionary candidate had been attracted to the conservative, self-sacrificial principles which characterized the CIM. He had evolved through this same fundamentalist approach during his first ten years in China eventually, however, concluding he could most efficiently gain the most beneficial results for China with an educational or literary approach. There were few similarly-minded men in China at that time. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 204-205; Bloomhall, *Assault on the Nine*, 289-293. For Richard's view of what was occurring prior to his departure from Shansi, see Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 December 1887, 1-4. The fact that the attack continued even after Richard left the province until he assumed his position with the S.D.K. in Shanghai, almost four years later, suggests that the conflict may have degenerated to a more personal level.

27. Timothy Richard to Committee of the B.M.S., BMS MSS, 12 May 1887, 9; Timothy Richard to T. R. Glover, BMS MSS, 26 May 1887.

28. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 4? January 1887?.

29. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 205. By this time Richard had made his home in T'aiyuan and labored there in the province for nearly ten years. Even more significant was that he had established friendly relations with many of the officials. True to his nature as a peacemaker, however, Richard was willing to finally defer to these younger

missionary colleagues and leave the province in the interest of maintaining unity and peace among the brethren before he would relinquish his convictions.

30. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 206. It must be remembered that he had been offered government employment before, by Chang Chih-tung in 1882 when first governor of Shansi Province. Richard had declined the offer then because he felt missionary work to be even more important. Other missionaries had accepted Government employment in educational or translation work. John Fryer (formerly of the London Missionary Society) did translation work at the Arsenal in Shanghai, and W.A.P. Martin (formerly of the American Presbyterian Mission) was appointed by the Chinese government the first president or dean of the Western Studies Division of *T'ung-wen kuan* (Tong Wen Guan) in 1864.

31. E. W. Price Evans, *Timothy Richard: A Narrative of Christian Enterprise and Statesmanship in China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945), 102.

32. It is noteworthy that should the B.M.S. not approve his scheme to start the Christian college in Shantung, Richard planned to remain in Peking, where he had access to government officials and would teach English in the mornings. This would provide the needed income "should the Society grudge supporting him here." Anticipating this, Richard had already posted a placard which resulted in inquiries from two Japanese and several Chinese. Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 16 December 1887, 1.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*; Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 December 1887, 11.

35. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 25 January 1888. By this time Richard had been in missionary service to China 18 years, almost half his life. The B.M.S. Home Committee was comfortably and safely ensconced in their meeting room more than 5000 miles away with letters taking four months to arrive at their destinations. They could have no real grasp of the situation without a first-hand view. Richard eventually recommended a deputation come to China to resolve the lingering issues from Shansi, and they did finally come in 1890.

36. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 12 March 1888, 1. In a later letter, Richard disclosed the motive for starting this newspaper. This would be the same as for his later involvement with the newspaper *Shih Pao*: "... one of the objects which my brethren in Shantung wanted me to carry out, viz. To remove prejudice from the minds of the Mandarins and Literati by showing them how Christianity assisted China in all that is for its best interests. . . ." Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 21 May 1891, 1.

37. This time in Peking seems to have been an intellectual "breath of fresh air." Richard wrote he was to present a long paper "The Influence of Buddhism on China" to the Peking Oriental Society January 25, 1888, a further indication of the breadth of Richard's interests. Mary Richard also felt it "delightful" that her husband's opinions were listened to with "respect," which was contrary to the "contempt of the narrow school in T'ai Yuan." Mary Richard to Mary Jane, BMS MSS, 21 January 1888, 4.
38. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 206-207.
39. *Ibid.*, 206.
40. *Ibid.*, 208-209.
This pamphlet that Richard wrote on *Modern Education in Seven Nations* did have some impact as he wrote in his autobiography:
Many years after I met a Hanlin [scholar] who was in charge of a Chinese provincial college, and who had read my pamphlet on education. He told me that he had striven to carry out in his institution the former methods I had pointed out (207).
41. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 13 March 1888. Richard's letter is unclear whether "class" here referred to social or academic level, but most likely it referred to academic level.
42. *Ibid.* Richard wrote that his wife Mary provided the instruction when he traveled to Shantung at Baynes's request. Richard also wrote that Mary had "another school of a dozen poor orphan boys where she assists in teaching daily (1)."
43. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 211-12. One cannot help but wonder if this were when he became enthused with the Japanese educational system.
44. Since the B.M.S. was totally supported by voluntary contributions from members of the Baptist churches in Great Britain, it was absolutely necessary to have the positive backing, in every sense of the word, of the home churches. What Richard was requesting the home secretary believed was a radical departure from what the contributing public considered to be the domain of the missionary. *Ibid.*, 212.
45. "Famine fever" usually refers to the epidemic louse-borne typhus or a relapsing fever that may be experienced by famine sufferers.
46. *Ibid.*, 213.
47. There were two different names given the sequela. In a letter dictated by Richard and written by Mary Richard to Baynes dated 23 July 1889, while convalescing in Chefoo, this condition was called "nervous? prostration" (1) while Richard in his

autobiography called it "malarial paralysis" (213). Whatever the name or the cause, even if rooted in his psychosomatic distress from the continuing controversies about Shansi and Shantung Provinces, the condition left him incapacitated by the severe pain in his right arm and hand as well as lingering bodily weakness. Timothy Richard (dictated to Mary Richard) to Baynes, BMS MSS, 23 July 1889.

48. *Ibid.* It is probable that Mary was sent to Chefoo in preparation of Richard's joining her there. It is likely that she, and others, hoped that she could provide the nursing care and comfort her husband needed with this illness.

49. *Ibid.* This is the first letter written by Mary Richard as dictated by Richard during his extended convalescence. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 166.

50. Richard himself, however, wrote a short letter to Baynes in early October indicating that though he had "fully hoped to be able to move to Tsinan [Chinan or Jinan] about this time, he had been medically advised against it." He indicated he was continuing with his literary work. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 4 October 1889.

51. *Ibid.* In a letter sent from Tientsin dated 16 January 1890 to Dr. Underhill, then Acting Secretary of the B.M.S. Home Committee while Baynes was on deputation to India, explaining the absence of information on Shantung in his annual report Richard wrote, "My Evangelistic work in Shantung was only commenced last Autumn therefore the time is too short to report results." Whether Richard was implying his perception that he was in fact already reassigned to Shantung, his continued willingness to go to Shantung or his denial of Shantung as his field of missionary endeavor cannot be determined.

52. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 213-214. That was the third time since 1885 that the B.M.S. had refused to endorse Richard's scheme to establish a college for the education of the Chinese in Western learning.

53. *Ibid.*, 214.

54. During these years of reflection, Richard wrote a series of articles serialized in the *Chinese Recorder*, then later in book form, exploring the various benefits of Christianity—material, intellectual, political, social, moral, and spiritual. He was prompted to write these in response to a question posed by Li Hung-chang: "But what is the good of Christianity?" Timothy Richard, "The Material Benefits" in "The Historical Evidences of Christianity for China," *Chinese Recorder* 21: April 1890, 1.

55. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 18 March 1890.

56. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 7 April 1890. Richard did not give the titles of these works, but probably one was the Chinese language book form of the English language chapter articles appearing in the *Chinese Recorder* on the various benefits of Christianity entitled *The Historical Evidences of Christianity for China*.

57. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 18 March 1890. This literary man's name is not given, but "[a]ll who know him consider him a choice man." Neither this conversion nor the man's Tract is mentioned in Richard's autobiography. This calls into question either Richard's memory or, more likely, the sincerity of the man's intentions for baptism. Richard's habit was not to write details of events that caused him great disappointment; however, he did not hesitate to mention the name of one Japanese convert. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 207, 213-216.

58. See Timothy Richard, "Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government," in *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Shanghai, May 2-20, 1890* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1890), 401-415. At this missionary conference, upon the advice of his colleagues, Richard obtained a second opinion about his continuing health problems. Even though Richard had made considerable improvement, that physician also did not recommend that Richard go to Shantung considering the mental and physical exertions which would be required there. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 June 1890, 1.

59. Timothy Richard, BMS MSS, 26 June 1890. This letter was dictated to his wife.

60. *Ibid.*; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 215. The *Shih Pao* was a daily Chinese language newspaper started by Gustav Detring on behalf of Li Hung-chang; however, it was Li who "personally invited Timothy Richard in 1890 to become the editor." Li knew the power of the press and often used the foreign and domestic press in China as well as America and Europe to his own advantage. The *Shih Pao* "was represented to foreign advertisers as having an extensive circulation among high Chinese officials." Roswell S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1933), 77-78.

61. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 June 1890.

62. With this statement, Richard formally severed his position and salary with the B.M.S. He requested, however, that he be allowed to pay "for the education of my daughters through the Society. I shall pay the equivalent to *your* [Emphasis mine] Mission in China." *Ibid.* The important point in this quote is his use of the non-inclusive possessive adjective "your" by which it can be inferred that he no longer considered himself a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society.

63. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 215.

64. Most likely, Richard printed in this newspaper his Chinese language versions of the six chapters from *The Historical Evidences of Christianity for China* generated by Li Hung-chang's question, "But what is the good of Christianity?"

65. *Ibid.*

66. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 4 July 1891, 3-4. In this same letter, Richard reported that the Emperor had issued an edict "calling upon all the Viceroy's & Governors of the Provinces to suppress these riots immediately by punishing the Leaders and protecting the Christian etc." Richard implied that the articles in the *Shih Pao* may have prompted the Emperor to issue the edict.

67. Mary Richard, Diary, BMS MSS, 12 May 1891; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 215.

68. Chang's request from Wu-chang indicates that Richard's readership went beyond the four province area adjacent to Peking. Chang continued to respect Richard's ideas as he had in the early 1880s when he was Governor of Shansi. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 215. In an undated letter Mary Richard wrote to her brother and sister that Richard had "started a 'Weekly' besides the Daily! It contains all the Leaders & the main News of the Dailies." In this same letter, she wrote, "The circulation of the Paper is gradually increasing. Some one suggested lately that the Reporters of news in the Provinces shd [sic] be paid in Papers instead of money. . . . If he has not already adopted it, Timothy means to do so." Mary Richard to Brother and Sister, BMS MSS, n.d.

69. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 21 May 1891, 1.

70. *Ibid.*

71. Britton implied that Richard's departure to become Secretary of the S.D.K. hastened the suspension of the *Shih Pao*. Whereas, Soothill claimed the newspaper lost its financial support, and that this antedated Richard's acceptance of the position with S.D.K. Britton stated that the "Shih Pao was suspended a short time later [after Richard left to become secretary of the S.D.K.], when 'The Chinese Times' ended on the retirement of Alexander Michie . . ." Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 78; Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 170. Apparently, the *Shih Pao* had some connection with "The Chinese Times," a weekly English language newspaper edited by the *London Times* author and correspondent Alexander Michie. Moreover, Mary Richard recorded important information in her diary concerning the suspension of the *Shih Pao*. "Heard to-day that the Company [the large import-export firm Jardine & Mathison, Ltd.] have decided to give up the *Shih Pao* end of June." Mary Richard, Diary, BMS MSS, 20 April 1891. Then, on April 21st she wrote, "Planning to telegraph to Glover in Hong Kong asking what they sanction in the event the Co. giving

up the Paper. . . . They talk of giving compensation as they are giving up the Paper one year sooner than they engaged Mr. R. [Richard] for." These clearly demonstrate that Richard had, in fact, a two-year agreement with the *Shih Pao*; that its suspension had nothing to his going to the S.D.K. since this option was not even available at the time; that Richard was considering reconnecting with the B.M.S. after the *Shih Pao* editorship ended. Mary Richard, Diary, BMS MSS, 20 and 21 April 1891. In fact, Mary Richard records in her diary June 30, 1891, "Mr. R. joined us—free from his Editorship a missionary once more." An enigmatic note in Mary Richard's diary for June 4, 1891, suggests there may have been some political pressure to close the *Shih Pao* when she wrote, "Shih Pao has greatly displeased Brennan[sic] our Eng. Consul."

72. This researcher would suggest yet another dynamic at work. Mary Richard had recorded in her 1891 diary that she had heard that the British Consul was "greatly displeased" with the *Shih Pao*. Perhaps Richard's writings were generating among the Chinese scholars and officials an increasing national consciousness, and maybe the British Consul was concerned that this would, in turn, destabilize the positions of the foreign powers in China. If this happened, Britain as the major power could lose its position of preeminence, particularly in terms of market access. Richard's tenure with the *Shih Pao* and his influence on early reformist thought, even on the reformers of 1895-1898, is yet to be investigated. Coincidentally, the President of the S.D.K. and Imperial Chinese Customs was the same man, the Englishman Sir Robert Hart. Perhaps there were some informal maneuvers between Brennan and Hart.

73. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 217.

74. At the time this call to S.D.K. was offered, another constellation of events was in place. The first B.M.S. deputation came to China with Dr. Richard Glover and the Rev. W. Morris as its members. During his editorship of the *Shih Pao*, Richard had formally withdrawn from the B.M.S. Richard perceived that "[t]hey [the B.M.S. deputation] naturally assumed that the chief cause of my separation from the Mission lay in me, and proceeded as if to make peace between me and my fellow-missionaries." When the deputation met with the missionaries in Shantung, they found he had no differences with any of them. Left unstated was Richard's conclusion that the problem was with the missionaries in Shansi. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 216-217.

Another important factor at this juncture was the visit of Dr. Murdoch of the Christian Literature Society of India. The S.D.K.'s financial condition was such that it was impossible to offer Richard a salary if he were to be offered the position of General Secretary. The *Shih Pao* was closing in June for a lack of funds. Richard needed financial support. Learning this, Murdoch met with this deputation telling them his own society in Scotland supported him, and it had also supported the late Dr. Williamson. He urged the B.M.S. to do the same for Richard. At last, Dr. Murdoch and the deputation placed the matter before the B.M.S. which finally committed to support Richard for three years. Soothill editorialized saying, "It could hardly have

done less for the founder of its Missions in China." Richard's autobiography is silent about Dr. Murdoch's intervention. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 170. Interestingly, Murdoch's printed appeal to the Home Committee of the B.M.S. was included in the *Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian & General Knowledge Among the Chinese* (Shanghai: 1893). (Hereafter, *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*) Since the three years of support from the B.M.S. was soon to expire, most likely this was Richard's reminder to the B.M.S. of the importance of the work he was doing at the S.D.K.

75. Mary Richard, Diary, BMS MSS, 17 June 1891. It is possible that this was the occasion when Richard presented Li with the pamphlet about modern education in seven countries and the proposal that the Chinese government set aside in its budget one million Taels annually for modern higher education.

CHAPTER IV

TIMOTHY RICHARD AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIAN AND GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AMONG THE CHINESE

When Richard relocated to Shanghai to accept the position as General Secretary of the S.D.K., he entered what was to become the most fruitful and influential period of his life. While his tenure with the S.D.K. lasted until his retirement in 1915, this dissertation will closely examine only the years through 1910. And since his interests were broad, this study will necessarily be restricted to an examination of the influence Richard exerted through the S.D.K. to motivate the Chinese government to bring about the establishment of a modern system of higher education thereby bringing to fulfillment his vision for its reform.

The years 1895-1906 brought far-reaching institutional changes in China. These changes were evidenced not only in education but in industry, government, and the military. Confronted with its weakness in the face of aggression by the tiny nation of Japan in 1894, China struggled with its obvious need to make changes. Japan's victory over Russia in 1904 caused Chinese officials to be even more eager to know the secret of Japan's strength. In 1894 China looked for the answers in the written word, in literature that demonstrated China's needs and Japan's strengths. By 1904 thinking Chinese believed they found the answer when they emulated the education Chinese students experienced when they went to Japan to expedite their training in Western

learning. How and where to make changes in a society steeped in a conservative Confucianist ideology which engendered inertia was perplexing to high government officials, such as Li Hung-chang and Chang Chih-tung, especially these students returned to China from Japan with not just a new kind of knowledge but the energy of a new spirit of nationalism.

Since the early 1880s Richard had been presenting recommendations for change to various officials concerning the institutional reforms he envisioned China would need for the country to experience economic progress and domestic security. He did not believe that developing China's strength would require only the development of a well-armed and well-disciplined military after the Western fashion. He believed these leaders needed to be educated in Western learning so they could move freely on the stage of international diplomacy. It would also give the practical knowledge needed to bring relief to the masses.¹ Richard had discussed with these leaders on more than one occasion the need to make this Western learning available within a Chinese institutional setting. As early as 1885, he had even proposed to his home mission society that it spearhead a united effort by the English missionary societies to support financially the establishment of these institutions in the eighteen provincial capitals. The proposal apparently was not taken as seriously as Richard had hoped it would be because the Committee resolved it did not have the funds to support such a expansive scheme. Richard, in fact, was not soliciting financial support for the scheme from the B.M.S. but a willingness for it to facilitate coordination among the various British missionary organizations to support the scheme.² Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous

chapter, several years later he also discussed with Li the need to secure the willingness of the Chinese government to invest one million taels annually towards the establishment of a government system of higher education institutions. Neither Richard's missionary society nor the Chinese government seemed to see their ultimate benefit; therefore, at that time, neither gave financial backing to either proposal. However, his tenure as editor of the reformist newspaper *Shih Pao* had further convinced him of the power of the written word, so Richard set about through the S.D.K. publications and contacts to "convert" the minds of the Chinese officials.

Richard knew he was uniquely suited to carry on the Society's work. Richard was also keenly aware that the S.D.K. would provide him the necessary platform from which to exert an even greater influence on the thinking of the more educated Chinese for the ultimate benefit of China. One idea he continually brought before his readers was the need for a system of government colleges offering Western learning to be established in the provincial capitals throughout the Empire. This was the essence of the vision he disseminated by every possible means for the next fifteen years.

The earliest years of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese (S.D.K. or in Chinese, *Kuang Hsueh Hui* or *Guang Xue Hui*) were not so propitious. Its antecedent, the Chinese Book and Tract Society, was first established in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1884. However, by 1887 this Society dissolved itself. Soon thereafter, with the generous donation of the other society's equipment, the Rev. Alexander Williamson founded the S.D.K.

He stated the object of the Society to be the circulation of literature based on Christian principles throughout China, her colonies and dependencies, literature written from a Chinese standpoint, with knowledge of native modes of thought and adapted to instruct and elevate the people, especially through the more intelligent and ruling classes.³

In 1889 under Williamson's oversight the S.D.K. began publishing Dr. Young J. Allen's monthly periodical *Wan-kuo kung-pao* (WKKP or *Wan-guo gong-bao*) or *Review of the Times* (first known in English as *The Globe*) and Mr. D. S. Murray's *A Chinese Boy's Own Paper*. Very soon thereafter in 1890, however, the S.D.K. fell on hard times and sold its printing facilities to the National Bible Society of Scotland for its use elsewhere.

After Williamson's death in August that year, some members of the Society's Board of Directors sensed the value of the Society and sought to continue its work. In fact, Mr. C. S. Addis (later, Sir Charles Addis) then of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank became its Acting Secretary. Richard's name was likely suggested to fill the General Secretary's position by Sir Robert Hart, President of the Society, a friend familiar with his ideas and writings.⁴ By the time the Board knew they wanted to continue the Society, Richard had already assumed the editorship of the *Shih Pao*. Since Hart and Mr. Detring, the man who had approached Richard about the *Shih Pao* editorship on Li's behalf, were both Customs officials and members of the S.D.K., it is possible that later Hart became privy to information that Richard was to be prematurely released from the newspaper because of Michie's retirement. It is also conceivable that there were efforts to ease Richard out of the *Shih Pao* to ease political concerns or even to make him available to fill the vacancy at the S.D.K. This idea is even more probable

if Li himself felt Richard had fulfilled the purpose at the *Shih Pao* for which he had been hired and now was concerned about the Christian content of the rhetoric in the newspaper.

Richard became General Secretary of the S.D.K. in October 1891, but probably not without some reservations on the part of B.M.S. Richard also noted at that time he was "the only member [of a missionary society in China] entirely set apart for literary work."⁵ The direction and impact Richard believed the Society would one day have was clearly indicated in his *1891 Report of the S.D.K.*, his first as its new General Secretary. In it again he refers to the "ignorance" of the *literati* as the root for many of the causes of China's famines. He wrote

... there is a growing feeling that the best way of helping China is to give such kind of enlightenment as this Society attempts to give. We cannot even *dream* [Emphasis, his] *of establishing modern schools throughout the Empire; this will be the province of the Chinese Government after it somewhat understands its own needs and how to meet them* [Italics, mine].⁶

Clearly, the S.D.K.'s purpose in Richard's eyes thereon became the removal of the "ignorance" he had seen demonstrated by various Chinese officials during his famine relief efforts of the late 1870s. He saw the ultimate responsibility of the Society to be to make Chinese officials aware of their need for Western learning and to promote the enlightenment of the educated, particularly the high government officials. Richard believed this process of enlightenment would occur through exposure to Western learning in the S.D.K. publications. Once so enlightened, the Chinese government

officials would seek to establish “modern schools through the Empire” convinced they would be useful to further meet China’s needs.⁷

This was no easy task, and Richard was not naive enough to believe the ideas presented in the S.D.K. publications would reach every mandarin or official and scholar. However, he believed

the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of colleges, and a small percentage of the *literati*, with some of the ladies and children of their families, might be reached. (This number was estimated at 44,036.)⁸

To accomplish this purpose, Richard as General Secretary began to make a diverse group of publications available through the S.D.K. At the beginning, as disclosed earlier, the Society published only two magazines, the Chinese language publications WKKP and *A Boy’s Own Paper*, and had property valued at only \$1,000. Later some Western language literature was translated into Chinese and made available through the Society. In fact, as early as 1892, Richard began this valuable work when he began translating Mackenzie’s *The Nineteenth Century: A History*. This book, one of Richard’s most influential works, was finally published in 1894 with his personal introduction addressing China’s situation.⁹ This volume was sent throughout the Empire to leading government officials. This book later even made its way into the Forbidden City where it was read to the Emperor by his tutor Sun Chia-nai (Sun Jianai).¹⁰

To attract the interest of a varied readership, Richard developed a seven-point plan for the S.D.K.¹¹ The first was to provide “periodicals of a high-class order” in

which "some subjects would be treated systematically, somewhat after the manner of Cassell's *Popular Educator*."¹² The second, and perhaps most far-reaching, was to provide "a series of books and pamphlets . . . to show the bearing of *educational* [Ital. mine] and religious development in industries and trade and in every department of national progress."¹³ The third was a unique incentive of offering prizes "for the best papers by Chinese on various subjects connected with the enlightenment and progress of the nation."¹⁴ The fourth was stimulate interest "in useful information" among the Chinese and in other means of enlightenment, such as "lectures, museums, reading-rooms."¹⁵ As its fifth means, Richard envisioned the S.D.K. opening depots for the sale of its publications in the centers where the civil service examinations were administered, which happened to be the provincial capitals.¹⁶ A sixth point, which later became very critical in China's reform process, was "to secure the cooperation of the Chinese in all efforts and to get them to form societies for the advancement of learning."¹⁷ The final method in the plan clearly illustrates Richard's intention as the Society's General Secretary to broaden the scope of the S.D.K.'s influence. He wrote

We intend to have advertisements of our Society's aims and purposes put out at every examination. As the best schoolmasters of every distant village attend these examinations, we hope in this way to make our influence felt in every nook and corner of the Empire.¹⁸

Since the magnitude of this plan was beyond the capability of one man, Richard devised another plan to "increase and intensify" interest in the S.D.K. within the foreign community in China, particularly among the missionaries, as well as enlist their assistance.¹⁹ He wrote to a "number of leading missionaries in China" requesting that

they submit suggestions for topics needing translation for the Chinese.²⁰ The result was a list of about seventy topics. More than twenty, "chiefly educational missionaries," promised to write articles on various subjects. These authors also included members of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs and the diplomatic community. Provincial Executive Committees for the Society, consisting of both foreigners and Chinese, were established and utilized for the generation and distribution of its literature and for soliciting financial patronage.²¹ By the end of the first three years of his appointment, Richard had enunciated a clear vision for the direction of the Society and had developed a strong base of support.

Within his first year alone, Richard had already undertaken to distribute free literature at the triennial examination of the candidates for the *Chujen* (M.A.) to be held in Peking. Specially prepared for that occasion was the tract "Four Great Problems." His book *Historical Evidences* was prepared for presentation "to the highest authorities in most of the eighteen provinces." Then, from 1892-1893, Richard single-handedly did the work of the Society as Allen was in the U.S.A. and the other active contributor, Dr. Edkins, was still in Europe. Subsequently, it fell upon Richard's shoulders to also edit the monthly WKKP and the *Tsung Shi Kiao Hui Pao* [*Zhong? Shi Jiao Hui* or *Christian Review*]. This is the same year in which he began to translate what later became one of his most influential works in Chinese, the translation of Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century: A History* (*T'ai-hsi hsin shih lan-yao*).²²

In the *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K* for the year ending October 31, 1893, there were lists of the "Office-Bearers," one for the year 1892-1893 and the other for 1893-

1894. To the former list, eight Ordinary Directors were added to the original list of 43 but three had been lost to attrition. None listed were Chinese or women.²³ Two new men were added to the Executive Committee—G. Jamieson and P. Kranz—the first being the British Consul-General in Shanghai and the other a missionary of independent support who was later to become Acting Secretary of the S.D.K. during Richard's stay in Peking September 1895-February 1896 and again during Richard's furlough 1896-1897.²⁴ The total amount received in subscriptions and donations in the year ending October 31, 1893, was \$478.35.²⁵

In this *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, Richard reported on correspondence he had received that demonstrated appreciation for the S.D.K. literature by the Chinese. The first related to the most recently opened S.D.K. book depot in Sianfu (Xian). So great was the opposition when it first opened that the missionary in charge, probably Shorrock or Duncan, had to "fly for his life. That was only two months ago." Very recently that same missionary ventured back into the city. A mandarin there offered "a house to him free of charge if he [would] stay there and continue his work, saying: 'If you will remain here it will be a god-send to our place.'"²⁶ Richard also reported there were increased orders for the WKKP from Formosa and Shantung which further demonstrated "the appreciation of the value of this periodical."²⁷ Allen, the editor of the WKKP, stated further that one of the most important and encouraging facts he observed after recently returning from more than a year's furlough in the United States was what he referred to as the "naturalization" of ideas. He went on to say, "The Chinese are beginning now to accept our teaching, adopt our ideas and adapt them to

their own use. . . ."²⁸ He further remarked that the S.D.K. was contributing to that purpose which, in turn, would affect all nations. He saw that "[t]he healthful development of this country [China] would add greatly to the blessings and benefits of the world. . . ."²⁹

Several proposals were also made at this Annual Meeting. To inform and enlighten leading scholars and officials further about the foundation of Western countries, it was recommended that a copy of Dr. Ernst Faber's *Civilization* be sent to "all the great mandarins of the Empire, and this was made possible through a significant financial gift of \$1,200 by the Rev. Paul Kranz."³⁰ Another project the S.D.K. undertook was the sponsorship of an essay contest endowed by Thomas Hanbury (later knighted), a subsequent principal benefactor of the S.D.K.³¹ He donated 600 taels for a prize of 100 taels to be given for the best essay on one of five questions presented at each of the five examination centers—Soochow, Peking, Canton, Foochow, and Hangchow—with the other 100 taels to be used to defray expenses of the competition. The questions were on a wide range of topics dealing with modernization, such as the benefits and/or advantages of a postal office, railways, silver coinage, mechanization of the tea and silk industries, the Imperial Maritime Customs, suppression of opium cultivation and trade, as well as how to cultivate better international relations.³² The final proposal agreed to was by Mary Richard for the printing of the *Women and Children's Series for China*. The detailed proposal for this series was included in the back of the *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*

In March 1894 Richard published through the S.D.K. a circular entitled *How to Multiply Trade in China*.³³ In this circular, he specifically linked economic development with educational reform. The Educational Department of the *Chinese Recorder*, which had become the public organ for the Educational Association of China, extracted a portion of that circular and published it as a scheme for the reform of education.³⁴ This plan had three major points—the funding, examining, and control of modern education in China. Richard recommended the establishment of a Board of Modern Education placed under the direct control of the Tsung-li Yamen and Robert Hart. They would be responsible “to develop the vast resources of the empire and to further the best interests of China in every possible way by means of modern education.” He then recommended that edicts be issued to replace some of the existent topics in education and examining, e.g. poetry, with Western knowledge—universal history, physical sciences, political economy, commerce and industries, and mathematics. He also recommended that this Board of Modern Education appoint the examiners on Western subjects, and that degrees issued would distinguish between those who attained proficiency in traditional subjects or in Western learning. A unique facet of this scheme, however, was its funding base. First, Richard proposed that “one per cent of the foreign Customs’ revenue [be] set apart for modern education.” Second, he recommended that China use “the surplus American indemnity returned to the Chinese government” for education. This money could be invested in the Chinese government railways (perhaps at 5% interest), and then the interest could be totally devoted to modern education.³⁵ Two aspects make this a unique funding proposal:

that Richard himself would propose that the means of funding this reform proposal would be based on Customs revenue, and that one of the means of funding dealt with the reversion of indemnity funds, this time from "surplus American indemnity."³⁶ The first bears the stamp of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector General of the Imperial Chinese Customs with whom Richard had discussed his reform ideas, but the second seems unique to Richard. Unfortunately, this scheme never had a chance to be implemented or even debated as war was declared between China and Japan on August 1, 1894. Nevertheless, this was the first occasion Richard presented the possibility of using indemnity funds for educational purposes.

By 1894 Richard had begun to reap the rewards of his labor. Financial support was forthcoming from both the Chinese and Westerners. The Viceroy at Wuhan, Chang Chih-tung, sent a thousand tael donation. He made his largest donation of three thousand dollars several years later, in 1901, to express his delight for receiving the three-volume set *Ancient and Medieval History of the World* authored by the Rev. J. Lambert Rees, a missionary on loan to the S.D.K. from the American Protestant Episcopal Mission. Also Taot'ai Nieh in Shantung not only sent in donations but when he later became Governor of Chekiang, he "induced the officials and gentry there to send annual orders for books to the C.L.S. [the S.D.K. had changed its name to the Christian Literature Society in 1906] of the value of sixteen hundred tael."³⁷ Hanbury followed through with the donation for the essay competition he had proposed earlier.

Further evidence of official appreciation for these S.D.K. publications is seen in the shift in the nature of some of the questions on the provincial *Chu-ren* examinations.

Some "high officials . . . instead of basing their questions on Chinese literature as was the rule in all past time, put a number of questions which the candidates could not have answered unless they had read Mr. Rees' History."³⁸

Not only did the readership increase but the S.D.K.'s membership did as well. Membership continued to grow until by 1897 there were 69 members, among them five Chinese and three women, a radical departure from the previous membership which consisted exclusively of Western men having governmental or entrepreneurial connections.³⁹ Nevertheless, the largest proportion were government officials from Western countries, businessmen and educational missionaries, primarily from the United States and Great Britain. Since Shanghai had become inundated with foreign commercial endeavors, this was understandable, and many of Richard's articles of the mid-1890s continued to address the economic benefits that would accrue to China if certain reforms were instituted.⁴⁰

In spring 1895, perhaps soon after the May settlement of the Sino-Japanese War, Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century: A History* was published. It caused quite a stir in Chinese officialdom. As a result of this and other literature he published through the S.D.K. around the same time, Richard's reputation as a disinterested and wise advisor continued to grow among the Chinese officials. In fact, the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung of Wuchang invited Richard to meet with him in February 1895 for the first of three interviews that year to discuss China's precarious situation as demonstrated in her humiliating defeat by Japan. Richard proposed that peace with Japan was necessary before any reform could take place in China, and

"thorough reform rested upon right education."⁴¹ Since Richard believed this education would take twenty years to prepare the China's leaders, he proposed in the meantime that a protectorate of foreign powers be established to initiate reforms and to "settle all the foreign relations of China for a definite term of years." At the end of that term, this protectorate would devolve its authority and control to China's then trained leadership.⁴²

That same spring 1895, a number of Hanlin scholars had begun to meet in Peking to discuss measures to strengthen China after her recent humiliating defeat by Japan. A memorial was drawn up by the scholar K'ang Yu-wei and signed by more than 1300 other scholars to be presented to the Throne requesting that the "Emperor should immediately take steps for reform. The lines they advocated were similar to those laid down by publications of the S.D.K."⁴³ Subsequently, K'ang and his friends formed the Reform Society (*Kiang Hsueh Hui* or Higher Learning Society) which included in its membership Hanlin scholars, Censors, and under-Secretaries of the Grand Council.⁴⁴ Then, on August 17, 1895, the first issue of the reformers' independent newspaper came out which not only reprinted many of the articles from the S.D.K.'s *Wan-kuo kung-pao* but assumed its name as well.⁴⁵ Soon, other scholars formed a "Junior Reform Society in Shanghai, with branches in Hangchow, Nanking, Wuchang, and Tientsin."⁴⁶ These men brought their rules for Richard to revise as well as discussed with him "how they could help to enlighten their country."⁴⁷ One member even suggested "the Chinese Government should make our *Wan Kuo Kung Pao* (*Review*

of the Times) the organ of the Government, and publish ten thousand copies regularly."⁴⁸

In the months following his September 1895 arrival in Peking to prepare the Mission Memorial for presentation to the Emperor, Richard had meetings with several high government officials and many scholars.⁴⁹ On October 17th, less than a month after arriving, Richard met with K'ang for the first time at which time K'ang said "he hoped to co-operate with us [the S.D.K.] in the work of regenerating China."⁵⁰ For Richard, this regeneration of China had to begin with the reform of higher education. He, also, met on three different occasions with Li Hung-chang who later was to introduce him to Weng Tong-he, then Prime Minister, whom some believed was "practically Emperor of China"⁵¹ In their discussion at this first meeting at this time, Li made several comments related to education. Richard recorded later that Li revealed that "the high Ministers in Peking spoke of Western education as 'Kwei-tze hsuoh' (*guizi xue*, 'devil's learning') and spent all their time on Chinese learning alone" which Li believed to be of no "practical use."⁵² Li also indicated that at that time the "Government would not grant posts to those qualified in Western learning."⁵³ Li also suggested Richard request a meeting with Prince Kung, brother of Emperor Hsien Feng (Xian Feng), whom Li knew had read Richard's translation of *The Nineteenth Century: A History*. In a conversation later the same month, Li indicated the Hanlin College was in the grip of extreme conservatism.⁵⁴ The head of the College "would not allow the Hanlins [scholars] to study foreign books, and that he was always cursing foreign learning and religion" which made Hanlin scholars and other reformers powerless to

effect or even recommend reform of any kind.⁵⁵ During their second meeting that September, Richard presented Li himself with three suggestions related to education: (1) that one hundred Hanlin and ten of the Imperial family be sent abroad; (2) that foreign or Western learning be given to all *hsin-ts'ai* (*xin cai*); (3) that "lectures on world topics be given regularly in Peking."⁵⁶

On his recommendation, and with a letter of introduction that Li had revised, Richard met with Weng Tong-he on October 26th with only Wang Minglun who was a member of the Tsungli Yamen (Foreign Affairs Bureau) present. The primary purpose of that meeting was to discuss the issue of religious liberty. Since Richard saw "ignorance" and "superstition" among the officials as the root of religious persecution, particularly against the Christians, he requested the government grant religious liberty to all faiths. Then, to eradicate the root of this persecution, Richard felt that other reforms were also necessary, most importantly those related to the education or enlightenment of the officials. At the close of their meeting, Weng requested that Richard "prepare a statement of what I [Richard] considered were the needful reforms for China at that juncture."⁵⁷ During his next few months in Peking, Richard had more interviews with members of the Tsungli Yamen. While no imperial edict on religious liberty was issued at this time, Richard believed he had been able "to enlighten the members, whose ideas had been vague in the extreme, as to the object and value of foreign Missions."⁵⁸

The proposed reforms Richard subsequently submitted to Weng as most needful were subsumed under four general headings: educational reform, economic reform,

internal and international peace, and spiritual regeneration.⁵⁹ Specific to educational reform, Richard proposed the establishment of a Board of Education that would oversee the introduction of "modern schools and colleges throughout the Empire." This was a reiteration of the idea he had first proposed in his 1894 circular on multiplying trade in which he viewed educational reform as the basis for economic prosperity. Richard wrote that Weng showed the plan to the Emperor who approved it. Richard and Weng met the end of February 1896 for the last time before his furlough to England. This time Weng visited him personally in the home where Richard was staying, "an unprecedented act, for no Prime Minister of China had ever called at a missionary's house before."⁶⁰ Besides apologizing for the

non-appearance of the edict sanctioning the requests of the Missionary Memorial, . . . [Weng's] second object was to ask if I would aid in the Reform Club which the Government talked of resuscitating. I refused to have any connection with it *if it would be of no practical service to China* [Emphases, mine].⁶¹

Another high government official with whom Richard met was actually in the imperial family. While Li would not give Richard an official letter of introduction for Prince Kung (Gong), he did nevertheless revise Richard's letter requesting an appointment. When Richard finally met with Prince Kung, who was President of the Tsungli Yamen, the other seven members had to be present. During the meeting, the Prince accused the Christians of various crimes he believed worthy of the punishment they were receiving at the hands of the people. While his purpose in the meeting was to request the Prince ". . . appoint a Commission of Inquiry into all the alleged charges against the Christians," which did not happen, Richard did come away with a

reassurance from one of the other members present that his "visit here will do good."⁶² That member was Li Hung-tsao (Li Hongzao) who was also one of the Emperor's tutors. He also thanked Richard for the gift of his translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century: A History*.

Another of the Emperor's tutor, Sun Chia-nai (Sun Jianai), also met with Richard several times during his stay in Peking. At their first meeting in October, Sun told Richard he had been reading from his translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century* to the Emperor every day for two months.⁶³ Impressed with Richard, Sun on three separate occasions offered him "the position of President of Peking University, as it was thought Dr. Martin, the former President, had left China for good."⁶⁴ Richard actually received the last while he was en route to England for his second furlough. He declined the offers, recommending Dr. John Fryer who for years had been a translator at the Government Arsenal in Shanghai.

Richard finally left Peking and returned to Shanghai in February 1896 where he made preparations for his second furlough in 26 years. On this voyage, ultimately reuniting him with his wife in Europe then going later to England, Richard found that Li Hung-chang, on his way to the coronation of the Czar in Russia, was a fellow passenger. Richard enjoyed the opportunity to have several conversations with him. Richard later recollected that in one conversation Li expressed surprise that Richard was traveling second class "considering the important part [Richard] had taken in Missions and in Chinese Reform."⁶⁵ During this trip, Richard had a stopover in India. He took advantage of that opportunity to tour the B.M.S. work there. He was

particularly interested in the work that was carried on through Dr. Miller's Christian College in Madras. Richard was greatly encouraged by this visit because Miller too had experienced a "storm of opposition to educational work" by his colleagues, similar to what Richard hinted that he had experienced while editor of *The Messenger* in 1893 and his earlier controversy with his colleagues in Shansi.⁶⁶

Richard finally arrived in England in the summer of 1896. For his report to the B.M.S. Home Committee, Richard presented them a box filled with his Chinese publications, bound annual editions of the WKKP and *Missionary Review*, the *Shih Pao* as well as an edition of the New Testament presented to the Empress Dowager in honor of her sixtieth birthday. He presented them with appropriate explanations as ample evidence of his diligence since his previous furlough ten years earlier.⁶⁷ During the rest of his time on furlough, Richard focused on securing qualified personnel for translation or literary work with the S.D.K. and informing various business and government leaders in London about "China's awakening."⁶⁸ On February 17, 1897, several months before he left for China, he delivered an address to the Secretaries' [of the various missions organizations] Association to "lay the matter [the need for personnel solely devoted to literary work] before the Committee of each Missionary Society." The substance of this address was published in the *Chinese Recorder* after his return to China.⁶⁹

In 1897 while Richard was still on furlough, Young J. Allen, editor of the S.D.K.'s WKKP, published the monumental eight-volume Chinese work *The History of the War Between China and Japan* in which Allen analyzed the recent conflict with

Japan. It also contained two Supplements: one was four volumes of the telegrams issued and received by Li Hung-chang during the war, and the other was a two-volume work entitled *The Importance of Educational Reforms*.⁷⁰ These and Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century*, according to the newspaper *North China Herald*, sent shockwaves throughout the Chinese Empire.⁷¹ Copies of these publications had been sent to the Emperor and high officials who had been seeking an explanation for China's defeat and the source of Japan's power. These publications, probably more than any others, firmly established the reputation of the S.D.K. in the eyes of the Chinese government officials. These books also revitalized the sleeping Reform Movement. By the time Richard returned to China the end of 1897, he found a renewed drive for reform in China. Not only had Dr. Young J. Allen been invited to take charge of a new university to be established in Shanghai, which he declined, but he also was requested to "draw up a code of rules for a *National System of Modern Education* [Emphasis mine]."⁷² Allen had agreed to do this and prepared "an elaborate manuscript, based mainly on the system established by the British Government in India."⁷³ Furthermore, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Richard's former secretary in Peking and K'ang Yu-wei's chief disciple, had started the Chinese newspaper *The Chinese Progress* in Shanghai which now served as the organ for the Reform Party.⁷⁴ According to Richard, the newspaper enjoyed strong support from Viceroy Chang Chih-tung and other scholars. In 1897 Liang was invited to become President of a Reform College in the provincial capital of Hunan, Changsha, a province known in the recent past for its strong anti-foreign and anti-Christian activities. These were all hopeful signs to

Richard that the Chinese were losing their antipathy towards learning from foreigners. Perhaps the officials now saw that the ancient education was inadequate to meet modern needs and that modern Western learning should now be adopted.⁷⁵ Moreover, a "Chinese Girls' School was soon started in Shanghai by the head of the Chinese Telegraph Administration and other Reformers."⁷⁶ Richard's wife Mary served as a consultant to that school for a time.

In the *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.* for the year ending October 31st, 1897, Richard wrote prophetically yet evincing a man whose optimism was tempered with broad experience and knowledge of China. Of interest to this study, he reported that some had said (and he most likely was one) that within four years Western learning would flourish and that Chinese professors in the natural sciences would "compete with their European and American colleagues in enriching the world by new discoveries."⁷⁷ He also noted that there were colleges of Western learning which had already been founded by viceroys and leading officials "with public money."⁷⁸ He noted that those of the better classes were becoming interested in learning English and studying the natural sciences. Other signs he interpreted as hopeful were the use of electricity to light the examination halls in the capital of Hunan, formerly one of the most anti-foreign provinces, and inclusion of a question on the civil service examination in Kiangsi Province that compared the floods mentioned in the Confucian classics and in the Old Testament of the Bible, and this latter was given as a reference. Richard was very explicit in his report that he was not propagating the trappings of modern

civilization alone but was seeking to guide public opinion in China to an understanding of the need for change and a need for

the application of the healing powers of the Gospel to the social miseries of a great nation; it is a benevolent work, exemplifying the love of Christ, on the grandest scale . . . [which] needs most of all character and conscience, purity in the family life, integrity in the official life, and in order to get these, she needs a religious New Birth—she needs Christianity.⁷⁹

The year had been demanding and successful as far as publications went. The 36-double paged WKKP continued to be published on a monthly basis with an average of 3,300 copies sent out each month. The *Missionary Review* usually had 28 double pages, and 550 copies were distributed every month.⁸⁰ This was also the year that Allen's work on the 1894 Sino-Japanese War as well as reprints of Richard's translation of Mackenzie's *Nineteenth Century* were published. Many other important publications were made available through the S.D.K. during this year, but those by Richard pertinent to this study would be contained in his *Essays for the Times* and his *Reform Papers*.⁸¹ The catalogue for the S.D.K. contained over 100 publications. It might be illuminating to contrast the growth in demand over four years. In 1893 the total sales for the two magazines and books amounted to only \$817.97. By 1896 this had increased to \$5,899.92; however, in 1897 the estimated total amount was expected to exceed \$15,000.⁸² Moreover, more than 120,000 copies of various S.D.K. publications were distributed at examination centers in Chengtufu, Szechuen (Chengdu, Sichuan); Sianfu, Shensi (Xian, Shaanxi); T'aiyuanfu, Shansi (Taiyuan, Shanxi); Peking, Chihli (Beijing, Zhili); Mukden, Manchuria (Jilin?, Heilongjiang); Chinanfu,

Shantung (Jinan, Shandong); Kaifungfu, Honan (Kaifeng, Henan); Wuchang, Hupeh (Wuhan, Hubei); Hangchow, Chehkiang (Hangzhou, Zhejiang); and Foochow, Fukien (Fuzhou, Fujian).⁸³

Demonstrations of appreciation for the S.D.K.'s work came once again not only through increased sales but also through testimonial letters and increased membership. A letter received from the new Emperor of Korea who was a regular reader of the WKKP gave testimony to the trustworthiness of Allen's book. Scholars in Shantung and Chehkiang Provinces also wrote letters of appreciation for this book. Richard reported that "... people of the middle classes and the general public" also expressed their appreciation for Allen's book.⁸⁴ Ts'ai Er-kang, Richard's secretary and translator who also assisted Allen, was offered editorship of the progressive *Hunan Journal of Science* and a position as instructor in a new college of Western learning being established in the province.⁸⁵ Li Hung-chang, Chang Chih-tung, and General Director of the Railways Sheng Hsuan-huai all requested Allen and Ts'ai serve in the reform of the country in various capacities.⁸⁶

It is said that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and with books, this imitation can take the form of piracy. Because of the great demand for Allen and Richard's most recent books, there were many attempts to pirate or reprint them because of the promise of guaranteed sales. Offenders were even being brought before the Mixed Court in Shanghai and fined.⁸⁷ Richard was concerned about this and brought legal action for two reasons. Firstly, it was known that the Chinese were selective in what they reprinted leaving out "the Christian teaching" and the "criticisms

of bad customs in China," and secondly, because of the great popularity of the book there was a significant loss of income to the S.D.K.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, this too is clear evidence of the high demand and perhaps high regard in which the S.D.K., and in particular Drs. Allen and Richard, were held. Normally a prolific writer, Richard published little through the S.D.K. this year as he was on furlough in England until late in the year. At the Annual Meeting convened on December 9, 1897, though, Richard once again reminded those in attendance that the aim of the Society was to provide literature "for all classes of people in China . . . *especially the middle classes*" [Emphasis his]. Clearly, Richard saw that the literature of the Society was to be a shaper of public opinion and, conceivably, in the future would become "the most influential leader of the thoughts of China."⁸⁹ Through this literature, Richard continued his efforts to shape the opinions of the Chinese scholars and officials on the need for and direction of higher education reform.

The year 1898 for the Reformers was one that began in hope but ended in despair.⁹⁰ In February the Reform Society in Shanghai published a *New Collection of Tracts of the Times*. Although Liang wrote forty-four essays and K'ang thirty-eight, among the foreigners whose writings were included, Richard was unique with thirty-one essays.⁹¹ After seven memorials to the Emperor in fewer than ten years, K'ang finally had captured the ear of the Emperor and in June was appointed Secretary to the Tsungli Yamen. During that summer he consulted with Richard "on measures of Reform."⁹² Between June and September the Emperor issued at least forty edicts on education, governmental administration, industry, and international cultural exchange.⁹³

Richard "was later invited by K'ang Yu-wei to go up to Peking and be one of the Emperor's advisers."⁹⁴ Richard arrived in Peking in mid-September, but by then the conservative element within the Imperial Court had convinced the Empress Dowager to resume control of the government. The situation quickly deteriorated for the Reformers with orders for their arrest issued. On the twenty-first, K'ang and Liang fled Peking for their lives, but six other reformers were arrested and summarily executed on September 28th. All the reform edicts were rescinded except the one establishing the Imperial University of Peking and the other establishing colleges in the provincial capitals, but neither was fully implemented. Most of those individuals identified with this Reform Movement then became known as bandits and rebels, and even had a price on their heads. Richard had done what he could to rescue members of the Reform Club, even helping K'ang and Liang escape to Japan. Richard, however, remained in China. Perhaps he sought for ways to protect the reformers in their various exiles and to stabilize the reform effort in the wake of the conservative backlash.

It was also at this time that Richard's plea to the missionary societies of Europe and America for highly qualified personnel to assist him in literary efforts at the S.D.K. began to bear fruit as reinforcements started arriving. Early in 1899, the Rev W. A. Cornaby of the English Wesleyan Mission joined the S.D.K. staff and began almost immediately to edit the *Chinese Missionary Review*. Then, in May 1899, Richard received word that the Rev. Donald McGillivray, associated with the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Honan (Henan), was being set aside for literary work with the S.D.K. By March 1900, the Church Missionary Society had reassigned the Rev. W.

G. Walshe to the S.D.K. "for the purpose of taking a share in this great enterprise."⁹⁵

So, Richard's long-awaited reinforcements finally came, and just in time, since Richard had been invited to present a paper on "Christian Literature" at the New York Ecumenical Conference on missions in May 1900.⁹⁶

While attending that conference, Richard took advantage of the opportunity to talk with many American business and government leaders as well as other missions leaders about his sense that there would soon be another crisis in China. Most were sympathetic but unable, and more likely unwilling, to take concerted action to prevent any outbreak of violence against their citizens in China based solely on the opinion of one man. By the time he reached Japan en route to China, however, the violence he had foreseen had indeed already erupted in the form of the Boxer Uprising.⁹⁷ Richard, nevertheless, was even able to make use of this disaster to achieve some positive results by exerting his influence to the educational advantage of the Chinese people and achieving vindication of his earlier vision for the establishment of colleges of Western learning in the provincial capitals throughout the Empire.

Even before the settlement of the international issues related to the Boxer Uprising, the Emperor through the Empress Dowager from exile in Sianfu issued an edict calling for memorials recommending reforms. With this sign of a leaning toward reform, Chinese officials, and Richard too, submitted their recommendations as invited.⁹⁸ The Boxer Protocol was signed on September 7, 1901, with the final ratification of the Shansi indemnity issues coming on November 8th. The direction was again set for reform but this time by the Empress Dowager, and it met no opposition.

Richard vigorously renewed his efforts to bring the enlightenment he believed the officials in China needed in order to remove the "ignorance and superstition" which he was convinced had led to the massacre of more than 50 missionaries and their families in Shansi Province alone. He no longer had to convince the Chinese officials of the need for reform; the critical issues now only were the direction and the speed with which the reforms would be implemented. This was the role to which he now applied himself—how to get all areas of missions expeditiously working in concert for the benefit and enlightenment of the Chinese. He particularly saw the educational and literary missions working in tandem—literary work providing the "arsenal" of mental and spiritual weapons and the educational work functioning as artillery blasting down the "strongholds of ignorance and superstition."⁹⁹

The "arsenal" in terms of the S.D.K. publications during 1901 may be viewed as monumental considering that fewer than five missionaries were fully devoted to literary work. Thirty-five "new works and 50,000 copies [had] been printed and published in Chinese, and 22 additional works" were in press.¹⁰⁰ Demand for S.D.K. publications skyrocketed, particularly after the educational edicts of 1901 which ushered in a new era of Court-endorsed Western learning for the Chinese.

Soon after the Court returned to Peking in early January 1902, the Empress Dowager herself began to issue many edicts calling for educational and institutional changes, many of them recapitulations of the edicts promulgated during the Hundred Days Reform, with one notable omission.¹⁰¹ Officials too seemed more ready with concrete suggestions. One suggestion was to integrate the schools and traditional

examination system.¹⁰² The Court incorporated this idea into an edict issued December 1901. In January 1902 the Court appointed Chang Pai-hsi (Zhang Baixi) to the position of Chancellor of the Imperial University of Peking commanding him to "present regulations on a new educational system."¹⁰³ Chang "proposed the creation of elementary, primary, and secondary schools under the control and supervision of the national university [Imperial University of Peking]."¹⁰⁴ Later he was appointed to head the Board of Education. From this, one can glimpse the fluid nature of the embryonic modern system of education.¹⁰⁵ Commands from the Throne for new changes were being issued even before the previous edict had been fully implemented. There was no one at the helm experienced in the modern education. However, the officials were being fed a steady diet of information first from Japanese publications and then through the S.D.K. publications primarily by Richard and Allen. Since few officials had direct access to information about education in other countries because of the language barrier—few knew English or any other foreign language—they had to rely on translated information. In the 1890s and the first several years of the twentieth century, the S.D.K. became the chief interpreter and conveyor of current events.

The *Seventeenth Annual Report of S.D.K.* for the year ending September 30, 1904, resonated with concern about the increasing Japanese influence upon the Chinese students at home and in Japan. Seven months earlier, Japan had become embroiled in a war with Russia. With a victory in June the following year, Japan's military and political supremacy was firmly established. This became important in the eyes of some Chinese officials because Japan was a constitutional monarchy and Russia was an

autocracy.¹⁰⁶ While the earliest educational edicts in China accorded a place to Western learning, China still had regarded it with considerable reluctance. With Japan once again victorious in war, China now committed itself to Western learning to achieve the same power and level of development as Japan. Then, too, the proximity to Japan and its use of Chinese characters in its literature enabled Chinese officials to overcome their antipathy for Japan and send students there to study. This *Seventeenth Report of S.D.K.* revealed that approximately "a hundred students from each of the 18 provinces have been sent to Japan to learn how the Japanese have prospered so rapidly." This trickle became a raging torrent between the years 1905-1911.¹⁰⁷

In Shanghai alone there were 50 different book shops that sold a diversity of Japanese-influenced literature.¹⁰⁸ Richard was concerned that China's ignorance of the outside world would make the country susceptible to be led down a disastrous path. It needed time and guidance, and with Christians providing their interpretation of Western learning, Richard believed that China would have access to knowledge that would lead to peace. As it was said at the Annual Meeting by Chair H. B. Morse, "Now China is awake, and thirsting for knowledge, and this knowledge it is our task to supply."¹⁰⁹ From another member at this meeting, "the aim of the Society could be summed up in two words— interpreter and inspiration."¹¹⁰ Richard clearly saw the S.D.K. leading China safely through this stormy time of transition by offering necessary information with a moral, albeit Christian, foundation. This was the curriculum of Western learning that he sought to have established in the new government schools. For the "credentials" of the Christian missionaries of various denominations, Richard

presented the historical record of missionary efforts to uplift the nations they entered through their Christian philanthropic works in education, medicine, literary endeavors, and social works.¹¹¹

Education had a prominent place in this *Seventeenth Report of the S.D.K.* Once again in this report, Richard reasserted his grand passion—"We need a model Christian college in every province and at least one model Christian university for all China."¹¹² Richard also recounted that even a non-Christian member of the gentry had said to him, "... that as missionaries were experts in religion, they should be asked to superintend this work in the new government schools." This statement seems to point out a search for some sort of moral undergirding to education now absent due to the demise of the Confucian curriculum and, perhaps, the understanding that missionaries had more experience administering this kind of schooling.¹¹³ Richard also recognized the recent establishment of several union colleges of a cross-denominational nature.¹¹⁴ Such union institutions seemed again to vindicate his earliest vision for the reform of higher education in China that he had advocated to his Home Committee in 1885 during his first furlough to England.

In this 1904 Report he also referred to the efforts of various Chinese officials to promote "modern education." By name, he mentioned the labors of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chow Fu (Zhou Fu), Chang Chih-tung, and Tuan Fang (Duan Fang). These all were officials with whom Richard had discussed the need for educational reform. From this report, one may infer that Richard was both advocating the establishment of a "system of national education, in which loyalty and patriotism are instilled in order to promote

peace and prosperity" by spending "several dollars per inhabitant on it each year" and proffering the tutelage of the S.D.K. during its implementation.¹¹⁵

Statistics for the S.D.K. reveal a continued demand for its publications. In 1903, there was a total of 25,353,880 pages of new books and reprints published, of which 14,919,280 pages were reprints. For the following year, there were 76 titles listed with a total of 30,681,800 pages printed with reprints accounting for 11,425,500 pages. From these lists, however, it cannot be determined how many of these titles were books being written or translated for the Imperial University of Shansi through its Translation Bureau housed within the S.D.K.¹¹⁶ It may be noted, however, that four titles were attributed to Richard.¹¹⁷ Total sales for the year only amounted to \$30,457.51, a precipitous drop of \$23,942.12 from the year before. Richard explained this in terms of a shipwreck that destroyed \$5,000 worth of books and "cooling ardor." The latter was most probably due to trade competition from Chinese new literature as well as the continuing piracy of the S.D.K. books.¹¹⁸

The 1904 financial report and membership list reveal something about the stature the Society had attained with Chinese and foreigners alike. Individuals gave donations or subscriptions for the year totaling more than \$5,000, with four Chinese listed among the donors. By this time, membership had grown to include more than 200 names—including 8 Chinese, 9 women, and a preponderance of missionaries—a very different constituency from the S.D.K. Richard came to in 1891.¹¹⁹ It also indicated that the Imperial University of Shansi paid rent to the S.D.K. for the use of its

facility for the Translation Bureau and that the Boxer indemnity funds for the Imperial University of Shansi in T'aiyuan indeed were channeled through the S.D.K.¹²⁰

The years 1905 and 1906 brought far-reaching changes in Chinese education. In 1905 the Emperor issued an edict, affecting more than two million scholars, bringing to an effective end the examination system which had been in place since the 7th century. This September 2nd edict ordered the immediate cessation of the examinations for the *Hsin-ts'ai* degree (xin cai, equivalent to Bachelor of Arts); furthermore, the examinations for the *Chu-jen* (juren, equivalent to Master of Arts) and *Chin-shih* (Jinshi, equivalent to Ph.D.) were to be abolished effective the following year of 1906. This was in response to an earlier memorial presented to the Court by Yuan Shih-k'ai to abolish the examination for *Chu-jen* degree "in order to allow the expansion of the modern modes of education."¹²¹ In this 1905 edict the Emperor also addressed the need for a standard series of textbooks, careful selection of teachers, and early instruction in modern education by the establishment of primary schools.¹²² Subsequently, there was a virtual explosion in the number of primary schools teaching the modern education, many founded by gentry without government financial support. Richard had discussed these three issues with missionaries and Chinese officials alike on many occasions since the 1880s. But now Richard foresaw the "great danger"-- that the modern educational system should lay in "inexperienced hands blundering on a gigantic scale."¹²³

"The immense stride made in education by the Imperial Edicts, changing the ancient mode of education by establishing modern education after the Japanese model in

all the provinces, is unexampled in magnitude in the history of the human race. . . ."¹²⁴

Even with such a sweeping statement (or maybe it was because of the magnitude of the change), Richard had some grave reservations about the educational direction China was taking. In the *Nineteenth Annual Report for C.L.S.*, Richard expressed dismay over the Chinese "delaying higher university education" development merely to copy Japanese elementary and secondary education and over the waste incurred by sending such students to Japan. Most of the students had first to learn spoken Japanese before they could benefit from the lectures, and he reported that a majority of these students returned to China in one to three years. Richard questioned the "depth of their learning." Furthermore, it was found when they did come back they had intense feelings against foreign control and influence in China. Richard likely understood this reaction would eventually lead missionaries, and particularly himself in the S.D.K., to lose control of the minds of the Chinese scholars and officials. Even more important, he perhaps believed it would plant the seeds for the destruction of the Ch'ing dynasty which could only result again in some sort of social upheaval.

By 1907 Richard saw the "three greatest needs of China" in Christian missions to be: a well-supported Christian press, a missionary council, and a vision unified through study of a common science of missions.¹²⁵ Implicit in this was a unification or consolidation of missionary efforts and funding for greater efficiency and impact on Chinese society. Richard's earliest efforts to this end began during his first furlough to England more than 20 years before when he made an unsuccessful attempt to convince his Home Committee to spearhead a united effort of the mission societies in England to

establish colleges of Western learning in the provincial capitals of China. While this cooperative effort had always been needed, now Richard sensed, through his 37 years experience in the country, it was now urgent. If the various missionary societies active in China could become a united body operating through such a council which would articulate the best counsel the West could provide through a union Press, the missionaries still might gain the ear of government leaders thereby influence the moral and institutional direction the country was to take. Richard believed that study of a science of missions would engender an appreciation and acceptance of the different approaches to missions thereby encouraging more mission societies to approve members to do full-time literary work and also to send knowledgeable well-qualified missionary candidates where they would likely have contact with Chinese officials. This could only impact China's future for good.

That year there continued to be clear evidence of the high regard some Chinese officials felt for the C.L.S. publications and its workers. In 1907, provincial officials from the six different areas of Manchuria, Canton [Guangzhou], Fukien, Shansi, Shantung, Hsinking [Xinjiang] or New Dominion) ordered hundreds of copies of the *Chinese Weekly*. As many as 900 copies were ordered by the Treasurer of Shantung, 500 by the Governor of Shansi to as few as 40 by the Governor of the New Dominion.¹²⁶ That same year Richard received the highest recognition given by the Chinese government to a foreigner. He was decorated by the Chinese Government with the Double Dragon 2nd order, 2nd grade, recognition usually reserved for foreign emissaries.

With the demise of the ancient examination system in 1905 and the establishment of the new system of public education which included Western learning the next year, Richard's "magnificent obsession" prevailed. While the moral underpinnings of this system were not Christian, as he had worked to make it, and the focus had shifted away from higher education, nevertheless, China had irrevocably changed her system of education. China now had colleges teaching Western learning being established in the provincial capitals. The seed of his original vision for the reform of education in China had, in fact, come to fruition.

For the remainder of the period of this study, until 1910, the S.D.K. (officially since 1906 known as the C.L.S.) continued to produce a prodigious amount of literature, original and translated. The Society, however, seemed no longer to have a grand motive. This is quite understandable as the Society experienced several great losses through death. The indefatigable editor of the WKKP, Young J. Allen, died in 1907 as did the Society's chief individual donor Thomas Hanbury. Another of the S.D.K.'s writers, the Rev. Joseph Edkins, died the year before. In 1911 the Society's President since 1888, Robert Hart, would also die. Many of the grand old men of China, foreigner and Chinese alike, were no longer there to stay the course of "New China."¹²⁷ Richard himself was no longer a young man. Furthermore, with his finally achieving the establishment of the University in the provincial capital of Shansi, Richard most likely felt a sense of personal vindication in the achievement of his original goal. He no longer had to struggle towards these ends. Moreover, his personal mission was fulfilled when he witnessed the reform of Chinese higher

education by the Chinese themselves. Until his retirement from the C.L.S. in 1915 and beyond, Richard continued to devote himself to international peace as he had for many years.

Richard's influence exerted through the S.D.K. publications most surely had an impact on China, particularly on its higher education reform. In 1891 when he came to the S.D.K. [known later as the C.L.S.], the S.D.K. published only two magazines and had \$1000 of assets. China had no government-supported system of modern education at any level.

When, twenty-five years later, ill-health compelled him to resign the active office he had six Western colleagues, several associate workers, a staff of eighteen Chinese translators and assistants, and the assets of the Society [S.D.K.] were valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars. He himself had issued original works or translations numbering over a hundred, and his influence, through literature and personal contact with the most powerful people in the land, had made the name and work of the Society known throughout the Empire.¹²⁸

By 1915, China had a well-developed system of education on all levels. The Chinese, by their early choice of the Japanese model, nevertheless had redirected their attention to establishing primary schools which were expected "to instill patriotism, loyalty, and concern for the public good," beneficial values certainly, but not those Richard had always sought to be inculcated through the Kingdom of God being established in China.¹²⁹ By 1910, however, China was setting a new direction for its own future which would no longer include the missionaries, particularly Richard, as its primary advisor and source of information.

Notes

1. Prior to becoming governor of Shansi, Chang Chih-tung had little interest in Western learning beyond military weaponry. Then he encountered, in the provincial archives, Richard's recommendations for reform. He invited Richard to serve as his advisor. While he graciously declined the invitation in order to continue his missionary work, Richard had other communications with Chang during his tenure. Chang's endorsement of "education [Itals. mine] primarily as a means of stabilizing the Ch'ing dynasty and enhancing Chinese power" can be traced to his time in Shansi where he was exposed to Richard's educational ideas. Chang thereafter inaugurated various practical solutions to meet China's present needs, most important being founding schools of Western learning. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 172-173; William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Series 54, Harvard University Press), 102-105.

The North China Herald Supreme Court & Consular Gazette (hereafter referred to as *North China Herald*) August 22, 1884, published a translation of a proclamation issued by Chang in Shansi in May 1884. It called for men familiar with astronomy, mathematics, foreign languages, weaponry, mining, foreign and domestic law, world travel, "practical knowledge of machinery," and navigation to come forward to establish a "bureau giving special attention to such matters." He closed by stating, "In these troublous times strange and curious learning must be encouraged, for it is of urgent importance." This is clear evidence that Chang's perception that the usefulness of Western learning had expanded beyond armaments. Since Chang was transferred soon after this proclamation was issued, Richard sought a means whereby to maintain the momentum for educational change in Shansi. Most probably, it was at this juncture that he first presented to his missionary colleagues there his plan for an institution of Western learning to be founded in T'aiyuan. Then, flushed with their endorsement he went home to solicit the Home Committee's support.

2. See Chapter III this study for a discussion of these efforts.

3. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 218.

4. *Ibid.*, 218-219.

5. *Ibid.*, 219. The other missionaries with the S.D.K. were involved only on a part-time basis. Dr. Young J. Allen was employed as the Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai; therefore, he was able to devote only his spare time to his monthly periodical. Dr. Ernst Faber had become a student of the Chinese classics and was employed full-time as a translator at the Arsenal in Foochow. He could provide only occasional contributions for publication.

6. *Ibid.*, 220-221.

7. *Ibid.*, 221.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Robert Mackenzie, *The Nineteenth Century: A History* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1909). Richard and his wife were reading this book together in 1891 while he was in Tientsin as editor of the *Shih Pao*. Mary Richard, Diary, BMS MSS, 16 March 1891. He began translating the book into Chinese in 1892 finally publishing it through the S.D.K. in 1894. The fifteenth edition of the English version was published in 1909.
10. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 256. Richard was told this in a interview with Sun on October 12, 1895.
11. *Ibid.*, 221.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, 223. In 1894 Mr. Thomas Hanbury, a member of the Society, donated 600 taels towards prizes for essays from civil service examination candidates on subjects dealing with reform or foreign relations.
15. *Ibid.*, 221.
16. *Ibid.* In 1891, there were 18 such examination centers. By 1893, in time for the special examinations convened to commemorate the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday, the S.D.K. had established depots in Peking, Mukden (Jinling?), Tientsin, Sianfu (Xian), Nanking (Nanjing), and Chefoo. *Ibid.*, 222.
17. *Ibid.*, 221. This aspect materialized with the early reform movement 1895-1898 when reform societies or study groups were established in various provincial capitals to explore ideas for governmental and institutional reform in China.
18. *Ibid.*, 222. Not only did he widely distribute publications stating its aims, but the S.D.K. also targeted examination candidates with specially prepared materials. At the spring 1892 triennial examinations for *Chu-jen* (M.A.) in Peking, free copies of Richard's *Four Great Problems* were circulated. In autumn 1893, more than sixty thousand S.D.K. publications, including Faber's tome *Civilization*, were distributed among the candidates at various examination centers.
19. *Ibid.*

20. Ibid., 221-222. Not only did he write personal letters, but he addressed an open letter to the Editor of the *Chinese Recorder* soliciting articles from its readership demonstrating "the importance and economic value of modern subjects of education and true religion." By that time he had already received commitments for articles on such topics as the post office, immortality, light, sound, machinery, agricultural chemistry, rulers and princes and statesmen traveling abroad, the Press, national uniform taxation, the "new birth" in Christianity, sulphuric acid, and modern education. He even encouraged more than one article on the same topic but from different standpoints. Timothy Richard, "Letter to the Editor of The Chinese Recorder—S.D.K.," *Chinese Recorder* 23 (May 1892): 237-238.

21. The duties of these provincial Executive Committees included writing at least one article a month for the S.D.K. magazines, examining and awarding prizes for essays written by examination candidates, sending or selling S.D.K. literature to expectant officials and professors, and raising financial support from sympathetic foreigners and Chinese. The four main topics on which Richard sought to enlighten China were: "I. How to support her people. II. How to give peace to her people. III. How to make her people good. IV. How to educate her people." Timothy Richard, "Scheme for the General Enlightenment of China," *Chinese Recorder* 23 (March 1892): 131-132.

22. Richard was reading this book together with his wife in March 1891. Within two years, he was translating it into Chinese. Bohr in his monograph indicates the book was first published in London in 1880 (180). According to the Library of Congress, the 1880 edition is listed as having only 72 pages and published by G. Muro in New York. Another source noted the book was first published in 1889, and this would be the first edition of 472 pages published by Thomas Nelson with offices in both New York and London. Regardless, in China alone more than a million copies of the Chinese translation of this book were sold, many of them being pirated editions of Richard's translation. Through this book, Richard sought to guide thinking Chinese to understand the reasons and remedies for China's weakness in the face of aggression by Japan. It "espoused Western progress and lauded the achievements of Western 'science, enlightenment, and democracy.'" Even more, it posited that Western civilization's real strength came through its possessing of the Judeo-Christian theological underpinnings. The book was, in fact, published by a Baptist company (Thomas Nelson Sons), and the English version even had a section about Richard's missionary society, the Baptist Missionary Society.

23. Of the fifty Ordinary Directors listed for 1893-1894, only 12 were designated as ordained ministers of the Gospel; five of the eight-member Executive Committee were ministers. *Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian & General Knowledge Among the Chinese For the Year Ending October 31st, 1893* (Shanghai: Noronna & Sons, 1893): 6.

24. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 220, 222.
25. *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 13.
26. *Ibid.*, 17.
27. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 222.
28. *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 16.
29. *Ibid.*, 20. Richard's autobiography written more than 20 years later disclosed that *Civilization* was distributed "amongst the students of these examinations [special autumn examinations given a year early in honor of the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday]." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 222.
30. Hanbury was a prominent S.D.K. donor. Such was his "confidence" in the S.D.K. that he bequeathed to the Society funds sufficient to buy land and an additional 25,000 taels to construct buildings to house the S.D.K. permanently. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 178.
31. *Sixth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 21.
32. Timothy Richard, *How to Multiply Trade in China* (Shanghai: S.D.K., March 1, 1894).
33. This scheme was published as "A Practical Plan for Education" and attributed to Richard. See *Chinese Recorder* 25 (June 1894): 255.
34. This idea came to fruition 1904 when a Director of Education and a Bureau of Educational Affairs were established in Peking, and in December the next year it became a separate Board of Education to administer the embryonic school system. The germinal idea for this reform perhaps was first planted by Richard in 1894 in this scheme. Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 31, 37.
35. This was the first time that Richard gave concrete sources by which the Chinese could fund their modern schools.
36. The surplus American indemnity perhaps resulted from that imposed on China for the loss of life and property during the Tientsin Massacre of 1870 during which American churches were among the four other structures burned besides a French orphanage and cathedral. Then again, it could be for loss of life and property during the violent outbreaks in the early 1890s. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 301. Most likely possibility is, however, the Chinese indemnity fund held by the U.S.A. for losses

sustained 1844-1858. By 1884 all claims had been paid, and there remained a surplus in excess of \$200 thousand with its earnings of another \$340 thousand. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Chinese Indemnity Fund*, 48th Congress, 2nd Session, 1885, S. Rept. 1190, 3. Nevertheless, this researcher did not locate any statement by Richard giving the source of the indemnity surplus.

37. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 223. Nieh's son later became a leading member of the Shanghai Y.M.C.A. (Young Men's Christian Association), and Nieh's wife became a Christian in 1914.

38. *Ibid.*, 228.

39. *Tenth Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian & General Knowledge Among the Chinese For the Year Ending October 31, 1897* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury Office, 1897). (Hereafter referred to as *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*)

40. See Timothy Richard, *How to Multiply Trade in China*, condensed (Shanghai: S.D.K., March 1894 and Timothy Richard, "God's Various Methods of Blessing Mankind," *Chinese Recorder* 25 (June 1894): 272-282, as examples.

41. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 235. These interviews preceded Chang's 1898 publication of his epoch-making book *Ch'üan-hsüeh p'ien* (Exhortation to Learning), translated into English by S. I. Woodbridge in 1901 as *China's Only Hope: An Appeal By Her Greatest Viceroy, Chang Chih-tung, With the Sanction of the Present Emperor Kwang Sü* by Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier in Edinburgh. Chang's book has interesting points of convergence and divergence with Richard's thought on educational reform. This interplay of reform ideas as seen in Chinese as well as English literature is a topic worthy of further research.

42. *Ibid.*, 236-237. This for some may smack of political imperialism; however, it must be remembered that Richard was a teacher accustomed to mentoring or the use of the Lancasterian system. The use of the "more experienced in world affairs" to teach the "less experienced" Chinese, then, would seem entirely in order to Richard. It must be noted, also, that this protectorate was for limited time for a specific purpose. See Chapter VI this study to view Richard's putting this principle into practice in his administration of the Imperial University of Shansi.

43. *Ibid.*, 252.

44. Richard included in his autobiography by name the following members: Chang Yin-hwan (Zhang Yin-huan), former Chinese Minister to the United States of America and Chief Peace Envoy to Japan; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (Liang Qichao), who served as his secretary "all the time" he was in Peking; Wen T'ing-shih (Wen Ting-shi), from Kiangsi

Province, a Hanlin scholar and tutor to the ladies of the Court; T'an Tze-t'ung (Tan Sitong), son of the Governor of Hopei (Hebei) Province and later martyr in the 1898 Reform Movement; Ch'in Chih (Qin Zhi), of Kiangsi, who wrote out Richard's reform scheme for Weng T'ung-ho (Weng Tonghe); Yuan Shih-k'ai (Yuan Shikai), General of the Chihli Army and later President of the Republic of China, 1914-1916; Wang Chao (Wang Zhao), Liu Kwang-ti (Liu Guangdi), Yang Tze-wei (Yang Siwei), Yang Shih-shen (Yang Shishen, a censor and Hanlin scholar), K'ang Kwang-in (Kang Guangyin, K'ang Yu-wei's brother), and Lin Shio (Lin Xiao, a descendant of Commissioner Lin of the Opium Wars fame). Of the last six, three were under Secretaries of the Grand Council and all but Wang later became martyrs to the 1898 Reform Movement. Richard noted also the Reform Movement had the "full sympathy" of Weng T'ung-ho, then Prime Minister of China, and Sun Chia-nai, one of the Emperor's tutors. Richard also indicated the Club received "great encouragement" from the British Minister, Sir Nicholas O'Connor. Richard wrote that he, Dr. Gilbert Reid (American Presbyterian missionary to the higher classes in Peking), and Mr. William Pethwick (an American who was one of Li Hung-chang's foreign secretaries) frequently dined with members of the Reform Club. *Ibid.*, 255, 266-268.

For a more complete discussion of the Reform Movement, see Meribeth E. Cameron, *The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1931); Luke S. K. Kwang, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Jung-pang Lo, Ed., *K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1967).

45. K'ang and the others knew that the WKKP had been in circulation for several years without official opposition, and they apparently hoped for the same lack of official censorship for their newspaper. Furthermore, this Peking newspaper apparently was printed out of the office of the Government newspaper *Peking Gazette* as both used the movable wooden block type available only there indicating "a slight change of attitude was seen on the part of the Government." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 245, 254-255. Eventually, however, at Richard's recommendation with which they complied, the reformers changed the name of their newspaper to *Chung Wei Ki Wen* (*Zhong Wei Ji Wen*). *Ibid.*, 254 opposite.

46. *Ibid.*, 253-254.

47. *Ibid.*, 254.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Richard went to Peking to submit this memorial on behalf of the Protestant missionaries of China. An English translation of the "Memorial to the Chinese Emperor on Christian Missions" was reprinted by *The Peking and Tientsin Times* March 7, 1896. This and an article entitled "The Missionary Memorial" giving its history may be found in the collection entitled BMS MSS. A copy was also published

in the *Chinese Recorder* in its April 1896 issue under the title "Memorial to the Chinese Emperor on Christian Missions (Translation)" (177-183).

50. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 254.

51. *Ibid.*, 244.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. The Hanlin College or Academy was comprised scholars who had successfully completed various levels of the civil service examination system until finally receiving the highest honors at the Palace Examination in Peking. These were the brightest of the Empire who were destined to received high political appointments. Miyazaki saw the Academy more as "a secretariat under the emperor's supervision that compiled books and drafted decrees . . . and further served as a source of young officials who could be sent to the provinces as the need arose" not as an academic institution. "Normally several hundred candidates" were maintained in this pool of available talent. Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell*, tr. by Conrad Schirokauer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 100.

55. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 245.

56. *Ibid.*, 246. This last suggestion was similar to the concept he had employed in Shansi Province from 1880-1884. Moreover, Richard's idea of making this Western learning available to the scholars was an idea he had first presented to Chang Chih-tung in 1882 while governor of Shansi. The Rev. Gilbert Reid eventually founded the International Institute first in Peking then later in Shanghai for this purpose. This also suggests that Richard was seeking official sanction of his lectures to the Reform Club.

57. *Ibid.*, 246-248.

58. *Ibid.*, 252.

59. Richard noted that,

"To carry out these great measures I proposed—

1. Two foreign advisors to the Throne.
2. A Cabinet of eight Ministers, one half of Manchu and Chinese, and the other half of foreign officials who would know about the progress of the world.
3. The immediate reform of currency and the establishment of finance on a sound basis.

4. The immediate building of railways and the opening of mines and factories.
5. The establishment of a Board of Education to introduce modern schools and colleges throughout the Empire.
6. The establishment of an intelligent Press with experienced foreign journalists to assist Chinese editors for the enlightenment of the people.
7. The building up of an adequate army and navy for the country's defence." *Ibid.*, 256.

60. *Ibid.*, 259

61. *Ibid.* Richard was concerned about the speed and the content of the reform being called for. Richard from the beginning had always stated that practical change was needed, and that should gradually take place over at least a twenty-year period. Soothill in Richard's biography shed further light on this statement. He wrote that "Richard had no desire to be mixed up in merely political affairs. He asked to be excused, unless the club were meant to be a real power for the service of China, that is, not a centre for intrigue" (224).

62. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 349. Christian missionaries were falsely accused of kidnaping Chinese children, gouging out their eyes, and killing them. They were also accused of all kinds of immoral behavior, especially since single female missionaries traveled freely in their work on unbound feet. These fears and prejudices were deeply lodged and frequently fed by rumor and salacious literature.

63. So impressed was the young Emperor with these writings, particularly by the S.D.K., that he sent out to purchase as many missionary writings as could be found. He bought a total of 129 as well as the *Holy Bible*, which he began studying. Henry Blair Graybill, *The Educational Reform in China* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1911), 46.

Another wrote as an eyewitness telling of the Emperor's penchant for Western clocks and gadgetry. After the Boxer Uprising when he visited the Emperor's still vacated room, he found that it was "filled with clocks of all kinds." This same individual went into more detail also about the Emperor's interest in Christianity. The Emperor was reported to be reading the Gospel of Luke in the New Testament, and "not long after that it was reported that [Emperor]Kuang Hsü (Guang Xü) had decided to become a Christian." Isaac Taylor Headland, "Missionary Influence in Chinese Reform," *The Missionary Review of the World* NS 22 (January 1909): 26-27.

64. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 257. Richard does not give his reason for declining the offers. Soothill in his biography wrote that Richard's reason was that "... he felt he could do better work for China in an independent position rather than as a servant of the Government" (222).

65. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 286-287.
66. *Ibid.*, 287.
67. Richard's report and presentation of his publications to the B.M.S. Home Committee at this time are clear evidence that he was still functioning under the auspices of the B.M.S., even beyond the initial three- year period.
68. See Timothy Richard, *The Crisis in China and How to Meet It* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, March 1897); Timothy Richard, *Prospectus of a Society for Aiding China to Fall in With Right Principles of Universal Progress* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, July 1897).
69. The article was published under the same title as the pamphlet published by the B.M.S. Timothy Richard, "The Crisis in China, and How to Meet It," *Chinese Recorder* 29 (February 1898): 78-87. After the pamphlet was written, efforts were made to secure the cooperation of British and American Societies. According to Richard in a P.S. to the article in the *Chinese Recorder*, "[a]t present there are three British Societies, three American and one German Society co-operating" (87).
70. *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 7.
71. "Book Review—*History of the War Between China and Japan*," *North China Herald*, May 15, 1896, 754-755.
72. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 260.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Richard reported another indication of the political climate in China. He observed there had been a "sudden increase in newspapers, from nineteen to seventy, within three years." *Ibid.*, 261. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had started another newspaper in Shanghai similar to the one he had begun in Peking. This is highly suggestive of Richard's influence,
It is known that Liang served as Richard's secretary during the time Richard was in Peking. This researcher would suggest that it was Liang who rendered the Mission Memorial into *wenli* for Richard to present to the Tsungli Yamen. Other evidence also suggest that their relationship may have extended beyond Peking. Richard, in the much later "Semi-Jubilee Report" of the C.L.S. when discussing activities of S.D.K. personnel, included Liang's name writing, "Liang Chi-chiao (sic), who like his chief Kang Yu-wei (sic) had a price put on his head for advocating reform, acted for a short time as Chinese Secretary in our Society, and became the most brilliant journalist in the whole Empire." [Emphasis mine.] *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.) For the Year Ending*

September 30th, 1912 (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, Limited, 1912): 9. (Hereafter known as *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of C.L.S.*) When he was in Peking, Richard acted as a representative of the Protestant missionaries. However, if Liang were the Chinese Secretary for the Society, this had to occur while he was in Shanghai. This possible direct connection of Liang with the S.D.K. is yet to be researched.

75. *Ibid.*, 261.

76. *Ibid.*

Soon after his 1891 arrival in Shanghai, Richard approached the Municipal Council which was responsible the International Concessions in the city. He requested that it reconsider the issue brought up the year before by Mr. Addis, of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, concerning the provision of public schools for the Chinese. Richard and Mr. D. C. Jensen, a member of the Council, gathered information about "what was done for native education in other foreign lands." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 226. Jensen then laid their scheme of grants-in-aid to Chinese students before the Council, but due to his untimely death the issue was dropped for several years. Richard along with the Revs. F.L.H. Pott and J.C. Ferguson took up the issue again with the Municipal Council in 1899. Eventually, the Chinese themselves contributed 37,000 Taels for buildings. By November 1906 this school was in operation with almost 300 students attending. "The Public School for Chinese," *North China Herald*, November 30, 1906, 495-496. The girls' school founded several years later then may also, in part, be attributed to Richard and Jensen's earlier efforts.

77. *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 1. Significantly, the next year the Imperial University of Peking and feeder colleges in the provinces were founded by imperial edict. The University was, in fact, the transformed T'ung-wen Kuan. Now its curriculum broadened to include more areas of Western learning. The feeder colleges were never established because of official and popular opposition. Even more important, however, were the later educational edicts in 1901. These actually began the government's long and circuitous route towards establishing the modern government-supported system of educational institutions, particularly in higher education. This process was finally fully realized in 1906. Even now the educational system in China continues to evolve in purpose and direction.

78. Perhaps here he was alluding to colleges founded by Li Hung-chang in T'ientsin, the most prominent being Peiyang University (1895), Chang Chih-tung's colleges in Canton, Nanking, and Wuchang (1887-1897), and Sheng Hsüan-huai's Nanyang College in Shanghai (1897). Kuo Ping Wen, *The Chinese System of Public Education*, Contributions to Education No. 64 (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915), 69-70; Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*, 104-133.

79. *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 4.

80. *Ibid.*, 5. The next three pages of this report are two reprinted tables of contents of each of these magazines for the year. There were a total of 12 articles concerned with education in those contents pages.

81. *Ibid.*, 9. These were in Chinese totaling almost 150,000 pages. The content of these were not considered in this study, but they may prove to be excellent sources through which to examine Richard's reformist thought as presented to the Chinese scholars and officials.

82. *Ibid.*, 14.

83. *Ibid.*, 15-17. The books or pamphlets distributed included Richard's *Reform Paper*, *Modern Education in 7 Foreign Nations*, *Hope for the People* and Allen's pamphlet on *Examination and Importance of Educational Reforms* as well as back issues of the WKKP and the *Chung-Hsi-Kiao-Huei-Pao*.

84. *Ibid.*, 12.

85. *Ibid.*, 11-12, note.

86. *Ibid.*, 10-12. In fact, Allen declined "to take charge of a University" believing, as Richard had almost 20 years earlier, that he had the more important work to do of benefitting the whole of China. It appears that Richard's observations from his tour of these schools during his last furlough may have influenced Allen's preparation of this code. It has not yet been determined to what extent this "elaborate manuscript" may have had any influence on Sheng's future educational endeavors. See Albert Feuerwerker, *China's Early Industrialization: Sheng Hsuan Huai (1844-1916) and Mandarin Enterprises* (New York: Antheneum, 1970), 69-71, 271 64n and 65n.

87. See "Fine inflicted on Chinese for breach of Copyright, received from Chinese Magistrate . . . \$100.00." *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 23.

88. *Ibid.*, 13. According to Soothill in his book *Timothy Richard of China*, in Hangchow there were six pirated editions, one even a deluxe edition for the rich. It was "estimated that no less than a million pirated copies were in circulation throughout China" (183). Copies of this book sold for \$2 in Shanghai but sold for \$6 in Sianfu; therefore, a significant income loss resulted, but still the ". . . sale of the Society's publications now produced an income twice that of all its subscriptions from abroad, thus enabling free grants of literature to be made where needed" (184).

89. *Tenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 13-14. This is the first time Richard acknowledged that there was a middle class (he actually says classes), and he seems to be shifting his focus to these whose members he perceived to be more receptive to new ideas and Western learning than the officials.

90. For three different perspectives on the Reform Movement, see Meribeth E. Cameron, *The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1931); Luke S. K. Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days: Personalities, Politics, and Ideas of 1898* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984); Compilation Group, *The Reform of 1898* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, n.d.). An interesting article on the reformers with several unique photographs was written by Mary Richard. See M. Richard [Mary Richard?], "The Martyrs of 'Young China,'" *Sunday At Home* 46: 1899, 285-288. She wrote that several of these martyrs and others of the reformers were "Christians in all but name," even to the point that several of the survivors had either applied for Christian baptism or become earnest inquirers (285).

91. The first 20-volume *King Shih Wen* was published in 1826 consisting of "essays from the most distinguished men in the [Chinese] empire on all questions of public interest during the 60 previous years." Another was published in 1886 "containing the most important documents since 1826." In 1898 the "reform party published what they call the *New King Shih Wen*, also in 20 vols., and uniform with the former two works." This new edition contained 580 essays and documents by 135 attributable authors and many other anonymously written. Only ten authors had from 8 to 44 essays or documents each: Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (44 essays), K'ang Yu-wei (38 essays), Timothy Richard (31 essays), Hwang Tsun-huen (28 documents), Hsueh Fu-ching (25 documents), an Under-Secretary of the Cabinet in Peking (18 documents), Kung Sze-chin (17 essays), editor of the *New Learning* newspaper (13 article), Ma Kien-ching (11 documents), and one of the editors of *Chinese Progress* (8 articles). n.a. [Timothy Richard?], "New China and Its Leaders," *Chinese Recorder* 24 (September 1898), 415-417.

92. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 263.

93. For the sake of simplicity, only the educational edicts are listed below in chronological order:

- June 11 Establishment of an Imperial University in Peking
- June 23 Replacement of the eight-legged essays in the civil service examinations by essays on current affairs.
- July 10 Establishment of modern schools in the provinces devoted to the pursuit of both Chinese and Western studies. Transformation of large private academies (*shu-yuan*) in the provincial capitals into colleges, of those in the prefectural capitals into high schools, and those in the districts into elementary schools.
- July 13 Opening of a special examination in political economics.
- July 26 Publication of an official newspaper.
- August 6 Establishment of a school for the overseas subjects.
- August 9 Establishment of the Imperial University of Peking, 2nd edict

September 8 Creation of a medical school under the Imperial University.

One of the earliest edict issued (June 12th), not listed above, was one which guaranteed the protection of missionaries. This and those dealing with railway construction as well as agricultural, industrial, and commercial development reflected the probable influence of Richard's ideas as he had been articulating these since 1880. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 375.

Cameron devoted an entire chapter to educational reform in her book *The Reform Movement in China* (65-87). In its opening page, she wrote, "Few did more in the cause of educational reform along Western lines than the veteran educator and friend of Chinese reformers, Dr. Timothy Richard" (66).

94. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 263.

95. Timothy Richard, "Reinforcements for the Christian Literature Society for China," *Chinese Recorder* 31 (March 1900): 159-160. This is the first letter in which Richard referred to the S.D.K. in the name of its parent organization in London. It was MacGillivray who stepped into Richard's position as General Secretary of the S.D.K., later known as C.L.S., upon his retirement in 1915.

96. The coming of the reinforcements is reported in a brief report of the twelfth annual meeting of the S.D.K. convened December 20, 1899, printed in the *Chinese Recorder* January 1900. Another interesting point was recorded in this brief report. As an illustration of the change in attitude, the report disclosed that Richard and Y.J. Allen traveled to Soochow and Nanking where wealthy merchants consulted with them "as to the best methods of enlarging their educational facilities (36)." Timothy Richard, *Christian Literature: Its Extent and Value* (Shanghai: S.D.K., 1900?); Timothy Richard, "Christian Literature," *Chinese Recorder* 31 (December 1900): 597-603. The former is a pamphlet published of the address presented at the New York Ecumenical Conference on missions and made available for distribution; the latter is an edition published in China that is essentially the same with only format changes. The first two sections only, those on extent and value, were printed in "Literature as an Evangelistic Agency," *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Vol. II* (New York: American Tract Society, 1900), 74-76. Those parts in Richard's presentation dealing specifically with China were omitted from the written record.

97. For different perspectives on these events, see Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Jane Elliott, *Who Died for Civilization? Who Died for His Country?: A Revised View of the Boxer War* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987); Victor C. Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Chester Tan, *The Boxer Catastrophe* (New York: Octagon Books, 1955).

98. Correspondent, "Missionary Work and Reform in China, London Times, 15 November 1901, 6a. This article disclosed that during the past year Richard had telegraphed recommendations for educational reform to the Emperor every two or three weeks. This researcher was unable to determine the identity of the "Correspondent." Perhaps it was Richard himself as perhaps only he would have known, and made a statement about, the frequency of the telegraphic contact over the year.

99. Richard used an easily understood analogy of the different departments of an army to define the different roles in missions work: literary, evangelistic, educational, and medical. All are essential, and each supports the other. It seems like he was using this analogy to justify the need for educational work, perhaps even rationalizing some initial work he had been doing to encourage the Empress Dowager to make educational reforms. Chinese officials were becoming increasingly familiar with Western military organization. Though he was in favor of disarmament, the recent military conflict in China between the Boxers and the Allied Forces was still fresh in everybody's minds and could be easily transferred to the organization of missionary efforts. Timothy Richard, "Educational Work Indispensable," *Chinese Recorder* 32 (February 1901): 91-93.

100. "Christian Literature for China—The Rev. Timothy Richard, Litt.D., D.D., of Shanghai," *The One Hundred and Tenth Annual Report, Missionary Herald* (May 1902): 220.

101. The edict issued in 1898 guaranteeing protection of the missionaries was notably absent from the new reform program.

102. As an official representative of either the S.D.K. or the EAC, Richard attempted on two different occasions to initiate efforts to present a scheme to the Chinese government to merge the Western learning and examining. The first time was in 1899 as a representative of the S.D.K., and the second was early 1900 as the representative of the EAC/S.D.K. Joint Educational Reform Committee. Overall, little interest was demonstrated in the scheme. In all fairness to the scheme, like Richard's 1894 practical plan, it had little time to gain support. Within six months after its initial presentation, the Boxer Uprising began. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 293; Wang, "Educational Association of China," 88-89, 142-143.

103. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 29.

104. *Ibid.* For a detailed description of this earliest modern school system, see Ping Wen Kuo, *The Chinese System of Public Education* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915), 78-85.

105. Richard endorsed the three-tiered system as early as 1888; the concept of the Board of Education was widely published by Richard through an S.D.K. circular in 1894.

106. Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898-1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press), 187.
107. In 1896, thirteen students went to Japan to study. By 1906, that number had exploded to at least 8,000 students. With the outbreak of the Revolution in 1911, that number dropped immediately by approximately 5,000. *Ibid.*, 48.
108. Richard supplied charts in this report giving the total number of books published in each category by the Roman Catholics, Religious Tract Society, Educational Association of China, the S.D.K. and what he designated as "Chinese New Literature." The 36 categories included religious as well as different aspects of Western learning, e.g., medicine, universal history, chemistry, statistics, commerce, astronomy, etc. The book totals for organizations pertinent to this study are for the EAC (188), S.D.K. (387), and Chinese New Literature (1,050). *Seventeenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 11-12.
109. *Ibid.*, 43.
110. *Ibid.*, 45.
111. These social works in China included establishing orphanages, opium refuges, and female redemptive works against foot-binding, prostitution, wife-selling, and illiteracy. See the Rev. James S. Dennis's three-volume study of *Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897, 1899, 1906).
112. *Seventeenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 18. Here again the emphasis is upon a system of institutions that would be teaching Western learning undergirded by Christianity.
113. *Ibid.*, 14-15. There was a precedent for administrative work in the Rev. Ernest J. Eitel who left Shantung, where Richard had known him, and later became Government Inspector of Schools in Hong Kong in 1879. Eitel also was a literary man who valued the inclusion of Western learning in the education of the Chinese. Richard considered him one of the great missionaries to China. Kathleen Lodwick, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867-1941, Volume One* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1986), 136; T.R. [Timothy Richard?], "In Memoriam—Dr. Griffith John," *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 43 (1912): 126.
114. The Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians established "a model Christian College in Peking and Tungchow." The American Presbyterians and English Baptists joined forces in colleges in Shantung and Canton (Guangzhou). "Yale University is attempting to have a Christian College in Hunan, irrespective of

denominational differences, simply on the ground that the promoters of the enterprise received their educational training in one University." *Seventeenth Annual Report of S.D.K.*, 13.

115. *Ibid.*, 5.

116. In May 1903 Richard traveled to Japan on behalf of the Translation Bureau of the Imperial University of Shansi. He sought appropriate books that could be directly translated for the students of the new University. Because of certain linguistic changes that had taken place in the Japanese language, Richard knew he needed "a good modern Japanese scholar, and similarly educated Chinese acquainted also with Japanese."

While there, he also examined other Japanese educational efforts. He also discussed with Prince Konoye his other grand passion, the need for a federation of nations and limitation of arms for the blessings of peace. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 277-280.

117. Usually a prolific writer, a word of explanation may be useful here to explain the dearth. During the first half of 1903 Richard traveled to Japan and after his return, went through the final illness and death of his beloved wife and partner, Mary. Early in 1904 Richard was asked to become involved in fund-raising efforts on behalf of the newly formed International Red Cross in Shanghai, and during that time he served as its Secretary. The Russo-Japanese War had broken out earlier that year in Manchuria, so Richard was involved in easing the conditions of those involved, primarily the Chinese. Furthermore, he spent time in Shantung for a congress of all religions, and later he went to Peking for consultations with high government officials. He had little time to devote to thoughtful writing. *Ibid.*, 277-285.

118. *Seventeenth Report of S.D.K.*, 15, 23, 26.

119. One Chinese name of note is Shen Tun-ho. He was the Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau in Shansi Province involved in the negotiations for the establishment of the Imperial University of Shansi. See Chapter VI of this study.

120. *Seventeenth Report of S.D.K.*, 33.

121. See the English translation of this edict contained in the "Appendix," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.) For the Year Ending September 30th, 1905* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, Limited, 1905): 29-31. (Hereafter referred to as *Eighteenth Annual Report of C.L.S.*)

122. Richard was facile with statistics which he usually presented for the purpose of comparison. In this Report, he projected the goal of China's educational development at the end of thirty years based on what Japan achieved. The conclusion he reached

was that China should have over 44 million students in 255,429 primary schools and 2,628 secondary schools, and there should be 486 normal schools training teachers.

123. *Eighteenth Annual Report of C.L.S.*, 7. Perhaps he was expressing some concern over what he perceived as inexperience and politics with the proposed Board of Education whose purpose would be to administer this new school system. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 36-37.

124. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.) For the Year Ending September 30, 1906* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, Limited, 1906), 6. (Hereafter referred to as *Nineteenth Annual Report of C.L.S.*)

125. Timothy Richard, "Some of the Greatest Needs of Christian Missions," *Chinese Recorder* 38 (April 1907): 211-212.

126. *Twentieth Annual Report of the Christian Literature Society for China (C.L.S.) For the Year Ending September 30, 1906* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, Limited, 1907), 8. (Hereafter referred to as *Twentieth Annual Report C.L.S.*)

127. The Kuang Hsü Emperor and Empress Dowager of China both died in 1908; Chang Chih-tung died in 1909; Li Hung-chang and Liu K'un-i had died in 1901. Queen Victoria also died in 1901. The China Inland Missions Director Hudson Taylor died in 1906.

128. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 180.

129. Bailey stated that the values inculcated within the Japanese educational system were adopted from the Prussian system. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 38. The values Richard had hoped to be instilled from the establishment of the Kingdom of God in China were love, peace, and righteousness. He saw this Kingdom as the dominion of God extended through those who believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and Savior of all mankind not in terms of any geopolitical entity.

CHAPTER V
TIMOTHY RICHARD AND THE EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF CHINA, 1880-1912

Richard was tireless in his literary efforts through the S.D.K. to bring about the educational changes in China he envisioned necessary for China's benefit. But this was not the only agency through which he worked to spread his ideas. Another organization that became important for the diffusion of Richard's vision, particularly after he assumed the leadership of the S.D.K., was the Educational Association of China (EAC). Soon after his relocation to Shanghai, Richard became active in the EAC, with his name appearing on its membership list. This chapter will examine the Records of its triennial meetings in an effort to discern Richard's impact both upon and through the EAC.

The School and Textbook Series Committee, the antecedent of the EAC, had been formed at the first general conference of Protestant missionaries in China in 1877 and charged with the task of writing a series of elementary school textbooks to be used in the mission schools. After several meetings, this was expanded to include an advanced series as well.¹ By 1890 it became clear that there was a need to coordinate efforts among the missionary educators. Therefore, the "practical educationalists" among the missionaries officially organized the Educational Association of China during the 1890 General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China.²

First the formation of the Committee then the EAC generated considerable interest in education among the missionaries which led to an increase in schools opened and articles written.³ Many of these articles were printed in the *Chinese Recorder*. One study of the EAC noted that only three articles on education appeared in the *Chinese Recorder* from 1868 to 1877 while thirty-two articles appeared from 1877 to 1890.⁴ Even the Chinese government began to evince a greater interest in "modern education," particularly higher education. Prior to 1877, two institutions had been founded specifically for training in foreign languages; two others had curricula that contained other subjects, such as mathematics, law, and history. After 1877, at least five other schools of a technical or military nature were established.⁵ By its Second Triennial Meeting, the EAC had a Constitution and By-Laws which declared, "The object of this Association shall be the promotion of educational interests in China, and the fraternal co-operation of all those engaged in teaching."⁶

Richard began his association with the EAC as early as 1880 as an agent of the Textbook Committee. What exactly this entailed is not clearly described in any existent materials. One of critical needs in writing a textbook series, however, would be to develop standardization in terminology. It is reasonable to assume that Richard submitted the religious terms he had collected since the early 1870s for consideration.⁷ Regrettably, rivalry and differences in methodological considerations deterred the School and Textbook Series Committee from completing its tasks as charged.⁸ Nevertheless, during those early years of his association with the Committee, Richard established

enduring friendships with many missionaries who were like-minded concerning the value of the literary and educational missionary approaches with the Chinese.

Richard attended the Conference that organized the EAC, but at that time he still had not fully recovered his health nor had he permanently relocated to a new area since he left Shansi almost three years earlier. There is no record in those proceedings of his appointment to any office. Within three months, however, Richard was appointed to the editorship of the *Shih Pao*, the reformist newspaper under Li Hung-chang's auspices. Most probably, he was aware at the time of the EAC's organization that his appointment as editor was forthcoming because of his contacts with Li, and he chose to focus his efforts at the time through the newspaper. Moreover, since his strength was still limited, he knew even more the need to focus his energy.

As a man who was deeply interested in education, it is not surprising that Richard's more active role with the EAC began after his 1891 relocation to Shanghai to become General Secretary of the S.D.K. As noted in the *Records of the Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China* held at Shanghai May 2-4, 1893, Richard had become a member of the EAC in 1891.⁹ Richard was one of three men appointed at the 1893 meeting to the Committee on Revision of the Constitution and By-Laws.¹⁰ He also delivered the opening address at the meeting entitled "The Principles of Education."¹¹ In this address, he discussed education in China from a comparative slant, probably similar to what he had used while editor of the newspaper *Shih Pao*. One point of note was his recommendation for a three-tier educational system. This antedated by eight years the three-tiered system recommended in Yuan Shih-k'ai's memorial which

the Imperial edict of November 25, 1901, made the model of the first school system for China in the twentieth century.¹² Another aspect to Richard's proposed system was that it was to be accretive rather than displacing, i.e., "[g]iving 5 years of Western Christian education on top of 10 years Chinese study . . . [which was] more adapted to Chinese life and mode of thought . . ."¹³ This system would provide the Western learning to those students who had already received their first degree in their Chinese studies assuring they were firmly grounded in their own culture. Richard's system did not intend to make the students Western, but he believed it would provide them as Chinese the necessary understanding of the laws of God and other knowledge to benefit their own people. This was a persistent theme with Richard since 1880.

He was shown to be an active contributor in various sessions at this Triennial Meeting. The records of the meeting published later contained Richard's comments on several of the papers presented and discussed at the meeting, including "Sketch of Problems of Educational Work in China,"¹⁴ "The Work of the Association,"¹⁵ "The Moral Influence of Christian Education,"¹⁶ "Industrial Schools,"¹⁷ and "The Teaching of English in Mission Schools."¹⁸

Through this early work with the EAC, Richard continued to have numerous and extended contacts with various other missionary educators. Most significant from these earliest days were the Revs. J. C. Ferguson, W. M. Hayes, Calvin Mateer, F. L. H. Potts, and D. Z. Sheffield. These men would all have key roles in educational institutions in China within a decade.¹⁹ It is most likely that there was a fluid exchange of ideas among these practical educators. Each man was most surely influenced by Richard's vision for

educational reform first diffused through his articles in the *Shih Pao* then, after his locating in Shanghai, through continuing personal contacts as well as various writings published through the S.D.K. or through letters or articles in various publications.²⁰

Richard was not present for the Second Triennial Meeting held in Shanghai in May 6-9, 1896. His name, in fact, only appeared twice in the published record of this meeting: first in the membership list, and second as one of ten men elected to the Educational Reform Committee.²¹ The reason for his conspicuous absence from the meeting was also important to the cause of missions. Since the fall before the meeting, he had been preoccupied with preparing a memorial which he would soon present to the Throne regarding the protection of Christian missions from persecution. Soon after his arrival at Peking in September 1895, however, he had his first meetings with the reformers K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.²² Notwithstanding the important task of the mission memorial, once in Peking Richard then sought to give voice to China's need for educational reform through various personal contacts, particularly those he met through K'ang and Liang.²³

The three years between the Second and Third Triennial Meetings of the Educational Association of China, 1896-1898, were filled first with squashed dreams followed by renewed hope finally in dashed efforts, particularly for Richard in terms of educational reform. Even before Richard's departure from Peking in February 1896 to return to Shanghai, the reformers had begun to be censured by various government officials. The attacks became so virulent such that K'ang was advised to leave the capital to prevent his arrest and impeachment.²⁴ In time, the formal organization they had

maintained was suspended. Nevertheless, even after his return to Shanghai, Richard continued his efforts on behalf of educational reform while he finalized his plans for his long-anticipated return to England, for his second furlough in 26 years, where he would rejoin his family who had left for Europe more than a year earlier.²⁵ Perhaps the EAC then sought to put its full weight behind the man who had been actively involved with the Chinese reformers on behalf of educational reform. The members of the Second Triennial Meeting of the EAC elected Richard *in absentia* to its Educational Reform Committee.²⁶

While on furlough, Richard continued to write articles and letters, many dealing with peace and statesmanship.²⁷ Richard returned to China from England in early autumn 1897. Soon after his return to Shanghai, Richard likely renewed his contacts with the reformers. By the next summer, both K'ang and Liang had appointments to official positions in the government—K'ang as a secretary of the Tsungli Yamen and Liang in charge of the translation bureau associated with the government.²⁸ Within a year after Richard's return to China, the Emperor Kuang Hsü unleashed a flurry of edicts, in a period of a little more than one hundred days (between June 11 and September 20, 1898), promulgating institutional reform, most in response to K'ang's memorials. Many of the earliest were concerned with educational reform, but the first two edicts, calling for the establishment of the Imperial University at Peking and for the protection of missionaries, were both key issues to Richard since the 1880s.²⁹

By the time of the Third Triennial Meeting of the EAC held in Shanghai May 17-20, 1899, Richard had been actively involved with educational reform nearly two

decades. He had collaborated with K'ang and Liang during the years 1895-1898 to arouse the Chinese government to make the needed reforms. The Emperor had issued more than forty edicts initiating institutional reform, many of them appearing to follow the scheme suggested by K'ang.³⁰ K'ang had consulted with Richard on reform and had even invited Richard to come to Peking to become advisor to the Emperor. Since the Emperor had demonstrated a keen interest in educational reform, perhaps Richard wanted to discuss further his ideas on reform in this vein, particularly the implementing of a scheme for colleges in the provincial capitals to educate and examine scholars in Western learning throughout the Empire. On September 21, 1898, the very day Richard was to have an audience with the Emperor, the Empress Dowager resumed power, and this bright moment in China's history, later known as the Hundred Days Reform, was quickly darkened.³¹ The missionary community, nevertheless, demonstrated an even greater interest in educational matters in China as shown by the increase in EAC's membership and in the number of articles on education printed in a leading missionary journal.³² Richard himself had seen the EAC increase in membership since 1891 from 73 to 189 (two Chinese were now listed).³³ By the time of this Third Triennial Meeting in 1899, interest and attendance surpassed the earlier two, possibly because of the missionary interest and involvement in the Reform Movement.³⁴

All his efforts on behalf of educational reform made Richard the logical choice to be elected President of the EAC for the next triennium at its 1899 meeting. His election also no doubt represented an effort to bring the Association into the new millennium with renewed vision.³⁵ His two Vice Presidents for the coming three years were the Revs.

John C. Ferguson and W. M. Hayes.³⁶ It is also noteworthy that the Revs. A. P. Parker, D. Z. Sheffield, and E. F. Gedye were appointed to a "Committee to prepare Courses of Study and Plan for General Examination Board, etc." which was "to form a joint committee with the following gentlemen appointed by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese:—Rev. Timothy Richard, Rev. J. C. Ferguson, and Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott."³⁷ Richard and the other members of this joint committee (minus Ferguson) were also appointed to a "Committee on Educational Reform."³⁸ Significantly, four of the six members were residents of Shanghai leaving only Gedye from Wuchang (Wuhan) and Sheffield from T'ungchow (Shantung). The Shanghai members, then, made up the majority and could easily constitute a quorum. These men generally were like-minded in their ideas about educational reform possibly brought about, in part, by the infusion of Richard's ideas through almost a decade of collaboration. This EAC Committee made three recommendations: that this Committee cooperate with a committee established in the S.D.K. for the purpose of developing a scheme or schemes for preparing and examining students in Western learning throughout the Empire; that this Joint Committee be authorized to make recommendations to the Chinese government "in regard to a Public School system for China and, in regard to such other educational reforms as the condition of the country demands"; that action be expedited with the full authority of the EAC until the next Triennial Meeting.³⁹

This Joint Committee for Educational Reform, but specifically the S.D.K. Committee component, asked Richard to go to Peking that summer "in order that the Government might be induced to approve of an educational scheme for China."⁴⁰ The

exact nature of this educational scheme was not disclosed in the written record of this triennial meeting, but most likely it was the examination and study scheme developed earlier by the S.D.K.⁴¹ This scheme was a expeditious attempt to interface the instructing and examining of students in Western learning. Richard perhaps thought enacting such a program could transition China into the full acceptance of the Western learning. Those trained through this scheme could earn mandarin rank but be qualified to be instructors of Western learning in the government colleges that Richard saw on the horizon. Said succinctly, this was to be a form of a transitional teacher training program. The textbooks and examining, nevertheless, would be by missionaries, so the Christian underpinning and missionary control of the modern system of higher education could be guaranteed. Richard was the perfect representative for this task as he was then President of the EAC, General Secretary of the S.D.K., member of the EAC/SDK Joint Educational Reform Committee, and a seasoned missionary accustomed to dealing with government officials after laboring 29 years in China. And, for most of those years, Richard had been disseminating a vision for the reform China's higher education. Once in Peking, however, Sir Robert Hart, Director of the Imperial Chinese Custom and President of the S.D.K., advised Richard not to approach any high Government officials about the issue as it would be "useless" since suggestions for reform were immediately being vetoed. Nevertheless, Richard did meet with some officials privately.⁴²

Elsewhere in the *Records of the Third Triennial Meeting of the EAC (1899)* is the report from the Publication Committee. When reviewing this, it must be kept in mind that the Educational Association of China was birthed out of the School and Textbook

Series Committee first mandated in 1877, so this Association was charged to publish and keep stock on hand of all levels and various titles to supply the necessary books for schools in China.⁴³ There were at least thirty different book titles and, interestingly, thirty different wall charts and maps available. For an educational system accustomed to rote memorization in its learning, the availability of illustrations for use in the education of the Chinese students was in itself a reform in methodology. Since Richard had relied upon visual aids in the form of maps, charts, diagrams in his lectures and newspaper articles, perhaps the availability of these items for sale may have been at Richard's recommendation.

The first Executive Committee meeting during Richard's tenure as President convened May 25, 1899, within the week after his election. Attending that meeting by invitation (Richard's?) was Mr. John Stagg representing Macmillan & Co. of London. It was decided at this meeting that six different books published by Macmillan for the study of English "be approved and recommended to the schools of China." The Committee also approved publication of a bilingual geography, a bilingual series of readers in science, and bilingual editions of the first four books of the *New Orient Readers*. Perhaps the emphasis on the bilingual textbooks was another demonstration of Richard's influence. He approved the use of Chinese with students to facilitate learning the course content and English language, both of which would be useful when the student would later be appointed to official position. Richard also attended the Executive Committee meeting on December 12, 1899. At that time the financial status of the EAC was precarious with the Chairman of the Committee reporting it was \$1,649.39 in the arrears.

The explanation given for this was the "reactionary policy of the Peking government during the past year."⁴⁴ With the demise of the Hundred Days Reform, the demand for the EAC publications had dropped drastically, so the anticipated sales did not materialize. In May 1900, at the end of Richard's first year as president, an Executive Committee meeting was held but with only four members present. Richard was absent due to his attending the Ecumenical Conference on missions in New York. By this time, however, more than half the debt was paid off. Another noteworthy item discussed at this meeting was the request "for a supply of books to be placed on sale at the triennial examinations in Nanking." This was referred to the S.D.K. for that organization to supply the needed materials. A separate article disclosed that the written record of the preceding triennial meeting was still delayed in its publication yet eagerly awaited.⁴⁵ Perhaps the publisher was awaiting Richard's final approval once he returned from New York.

The Executive Committee did not convene from May 1900 until later in 1901 due to the upheaval resulting from the Boxer Uprising the summer of 1900. Indemnity issues resulting from this Uprising were finally resolved September 7, 1901, with the signing of the agreement by China and the various foreign powers.⁴⁶ An EAC Executive Committee meeting followed soon thereafter, and its report was printed in the November 1901 issue of the *Chinese Recorder* (561-562). Richard was present as were W. N. Bitton, F. L. H. Potts, Miss H. L. Richardson, C. Lacy Sites, and J. A. Silsby. It is interesting to note that between a meeting held in March 1901 and this there was an order for reprinting nine different titles, most at least 400 copies.⁴⁷ Also there is recorded an acknowledgment of \$1000 received from the S.D.K. for the sale of EAC books out of the S.D.K. book depots.

This suggests a close connection between the two probably made closer because of the contemporaneously held leadership positions by Richard in both organizations. Another Executive Committee meeting was convened December 20, 1901, at which 2000 copies each of books on physiology and geography were ordered printed. They also began to consider suggestions for the next triennial meeting scheduled for May 1902. Just after the first of the year, the Executive Committee met again to make further preparations for the next triennial meeting in May. The agenda was established. The Executive Committee requested the Committee to Prepare Courses of Study, etc., "to report on the advisability of presenting a memorial to the government asking for official recognition and the right of granting degrees."⁴⁸

The EAC met in Shanghai for its Fourth Triennial Meeting May 21-23, 1902. By this time, the membership had increased to 249 with 129 attending the meeting. The Editorial Secretary for the EAC noted that it was a good working convention with a "larger percentage of good, solid, practical suggestion (sic) and a smaller percentage of empty theorizing" which he believed would be "fruitful in practical results."⁴⁹ The General Secretary recorded,

Not only has the Association increased its membership during this period; the increase in the sales of its publications has been even more remarkable. The sales during this last triennium were \$5,000.00 more than during the nine previous years combined. They were nearly as great as the sales of the School and Text Book Series Committee and the Educational Association combined for the twenty-two years which preceded the last triennium, and this notwithstanding the Boxer troubles of 1900.⁵⁰

Richard was not present to preside over this Triennial Meeting as he was traveling to T'aiyuan for the official opening of classes at the college of Western learning he was

sanctioned by the government to establish.⁵¹ (Richard and the relationship of this university to his vision for higher education in China will be discussed in Chapter VI of this study.) Ferguson, one of the two vice presidents, presided over this triennial meeting in Richard's absence.⁵²

Even in his absence, however, Richard was one of nine men appointed to the "Committee to Prepare Memorial to Chinese Government."⁵³ The Empress Dowager through the Emperor Kuang Hsü had promulgated an edict on January 29, 1901, which had proclaimed the Empire's "first essential, even more important than devising new systems (*zhifa*), is to secure men of administrative ability (*zhi ren*)."⁵⁴ Many officials submitted memorials recommending reforms, particularly of an educational nature, in order to prepare these men of administrative ability.⁵⁵ Chang Chih-tung and Liu Kun-i as well as Yuan Shih-k'ai submitted some of the most important reform proposals.⁵⁶ The EAC also sought have its input at this critical point in the reforming of China's education.

For years the EAC had sought to maintain the Christian underpinnings in the educational process of those whom they believed would become China's future leaders. The Committee sought to continue this as it addressed the need for a national educational scheme with a Christianity-based curriculum. Their scheme would, in fact, become the basis for a teacher training program which used texts and examinations written by the Protestant Christian missionary educators. Perhaps they had already developed such a scheme, and this was what Richard had gone to Peking in 1899 in hopes of presenting to the Chinese officials. The political climate at that time was not conducive to educational

reform, but now the Court was requesting the submission of reform ideas. Most certainly, this Committee, of which Richard was an active member, would incorporate the earlier EAC/S.D.K. Joint Educational Reform Committee scheme into this memorial.⁵⁷

During the triennium from May 1899-May 1902 for which he had been elected president, Richard was drawn into the three critical events that shaped the history of China. However, his involvement in them rendered him unable to be a fully participating president of the EAC. First, while Richard attended the first Ecumenical Conference held in New York City to speak the value of literary work by the Christian missionaries, he asserted, almost prophetically, that there would soon be a cataclysmic outbreak of persecution against Christians in China if there were not some united effort to avert the danger. So convinced he was of the imminent danger that on his own initiative he spoke to government officials in Washington, DC, and businessmen in Boston and New York. All expressed interest but no one was moved to action solely on the basis of Richard's opinion. The second event was the horrific outbreak of violence in China that Richard had predicted. Within one month of the Conference, while Richard was en route returning to China, the group called the Boxers or *I-ho Ch'uan*, perpetrated acts of violence against native and foreign Christians alike.⁵⁸ More than 100 missionaries, their spouses and children were killed mostly in the northern provinces of Chihli and Shansi.⁵⁹ Uncounted thousands of Chinese Christians were also killed. The outbreak of violence in Shansi led ultimately into the third major event during Richard's term as President—the founding of the Imperial University of Shansi in T'aiyuan. This university was founded

at Richard's insistence in consequence to the terrible loss of lives by foreign Protestant missions. The imperial sanction for Richard to found this University cascaded into the first Imperial edicts of the twentieth century to establish a government-supported educational system with universities in the provincial capitals. Chapter VI of this study will discuss this process in more detail. All these events preoccupied Richard taking him out of Shanghai a total of 1½ years thereby limiting his ability to be as active a president of the EAC as perhaps he had hoped and others had expected. Nonetheless, his influence was still evident through colleagues who had shared his vision for the reform of education in China, particularly for higher education.

The Fifth Triennial Meeting of the EAC was held in Shanghai May 17-20, 1905. Once again Richard's name is conspicuously absent from the listing of officers and the membership of the various committees as well as other locations in the printed record. The reason for this is quite simple—he was on furlough to England, his third in 35 years.⁶⁰ However, his influence was there through men he had appointed to key positions with the Imperial University of Shansi. The Principal of its Western Studies Department, the Rev. Moir B. Duncan, sat on the "Committee on Course of Study" and John Darroch, foreign Supervisor of the Translation Bureau of the Imperial University of Shansi, was a member of the Committees for "Romanization," "Publications," and "Terminology."⁶¹

By the time of the Sixth Triennial Meeting of the EAC in 1909, Richard's efforts on behalf of China's education and peace had been recognized by Chinese and foreigners alike. His vision for the establishment of a system of government-supported educational institutions finally became a reality with the 1906 edict establishing the modern public

school system. The earliest recognition for his efforts on behalf of Chinese education came in 1900 when he received an honorary D.D. from Emory College in Oxford, Georgia (in 1919 it became Emory University in Atlanta).⁶² In 1901, he received an honorary Litt.D. from Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. Chinese honors were also forthcoming. In 1902, Richard was made a Joint Chancellor with the Governor of Shansi of the Imperial University of Shansi. By 1902 he was also appointed by imperial edict to be the representative of Protestant missions in China to the Emperor. Yet other honors followed. In 1903 he received the rank of Mandarin of the Highest Grade, of the red button, and several years later his ancestors were ennobled to the same rank three generations back.⁶³ He was further decorated by the Chinese government in 1907 with the Double Dragon, 2nd order, 2nd grade.⁶⁴ All these are ample evidence of the appreciation that the Chinese and foreigners had for his efforts on behalf of the Chinese, particularly in higher education.

Richard was elected one of two Vice Presidents of the EAC at its Sixth Triennial Meeting in 1909. Radical change had taken place in Chinese education by this time. A Board of Modern Education was founded, and the stultifying Civil Service Examination system was abolished in 1905; a public system of modern education had been established in 1906 ranging from primary schools to higher education institutions having a curriculum which included sciences, mathematics, social studies, English, and world history. The EAC now had approximately 500 members "nearly one-ninth of the Protestant missionaries in China and about one-fifth of the missionaries who were really connected with educational work."⁶⁵ In reality, however, most of the standing

committees of the EAC had ceased to function after 1905.⁶⁶ One reason may be that since reform had finally and irrevocably come to China's education these committees were no longer needed to advocate reform. Yet another reason might be that direction of the educational system had spun out of Western control since 1903 when the Imperial government began to follow the Japanese model of education. Furthermore, since the original purpose of the EAC was to provide books for the schools and the schools were now after the Japanese model of education, the books were now being purchased from the secular Japanese-owned publishing houses, such as the Commercial Press. Whatever the reason, the sense of urgency for reform was no longer present in EAC's literature. But, it did contain notes of caution about the increasing Japanese influence within this new educational system. Perhaps to counterbalance this trend and maintain some influence within the educational system, the EAC began to actively solicit the membership and cooperation of Chinese educators.⁶⁷

At the 1909 EAC meeting, the Chinese head of the Department of English Publications in the Commercial Press, Dr. Fong F. Sec (Feng ?) spoke on this very issue.⁶⁸ He made a case for Chinese and missionary cooperation in educational work. Since government recognition and registration of schools was now required, the Christian missionary educators were required to comply with these if they planned to continue their educational work in China. This meant the missionaries had to accept "... the government course of study, the prescribed textbooks and the scientific terminology."⁶⁹ To this Richard said:

There has been too much independence on the part of the missions. Formerly the government was conservative and independent, now the

missions are conservative and apt to act independently of the wishes of the government. . . . A good suggestion of Mr. Fong's is to approach the government through foreign officials, have more respect for our hosts, the Chinese.⁷⁰

Missionary educators began to be wary of the intentions of Japanese and to chafe against being displaced from their position of prominent influence in education. Additionally, they perceived this presaged a loss of institutional autonomy.

Very soon after the closing of this Sixth Triennial meeting, the Chinese provided another demonstration of their rising sense of national consciousness—educational leaders in Shansi requested an early devolution of the control of the Imperial University of Shansi. This University had epitomized Richard's vision for the reform of higher education in China. Richard, nevertheless, continued to exert his influence through the EAC until he left China in 1916.

In 1912, at the end of his tenure as one of the two Vice Presidents elected for the sixth triennium, Richard prepared a paper for presentation at the next triennial meeting. This paper examined the future of the EAC in relation to the newly established Republic of China and the various denominational organizations. He called for united efforts among the denominations and more cooperation with the new government.⁷¹ Whether his counsel was followed is a subject for further research. Nevertheless, Richard had served through the EAC, and its predecessor, for more than three decades. He had witnessed what few men are privileged to see—the eventual coming to fruition of a vision. Richard saw reform come to pass to higher education in China, in part, through the influence he exerted through his various roles in the Educational Association of China.

Notes

1. Shu-Hwai Wang, "The Educational Association of China, 1890-1912: Its History and Meaning in the Missionary Education in China" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1963), 6-18.
2. *Ibid.*, 22.
3. See Chen Wei Cheng, "The Educational Work of Missionaries in China" (Ph.D. diss, University of Michigan, 1910) for one of the earliest scholarly works by a Chinese to examine missionary education.
4. Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 19. For the listing of these articles on education, see Paul Kranz, "List of Educational Articles from the *Recorder* 1869-94," *Chinese Recorder* 26 (May 1895): 228-233.
5. Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 20.
6. *Records of the Second Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China, May 6-9, 1896* (Shanghai, 1896), 3. [Hereafter cited as *Records of the Second Triennial Meeting of EAC (1896)*.]
7. Richard's interest in standardizing terminology was a persistent issue with him. His first interest in terminology was demonstrated in Shantung when he formulated a list of religious terms used by the Chinese and employed those in his catechism to instruct Christian inquirers. This interest intensified, out of necessity, once he became devoted to literary endeavors through the S.D.K. While he never tried to operate independently of the Chinese government in this issue, if it did not deliver in a timely fashion, Richard was not beyond taking the initiative to provide what was needed because of the press of his own work at the S.D.K. See [Timothy] Richard and [Donald] MacGillivray, *A Dictionary of Philosophical Terms Chiefly From the Japanese* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1913).
8. However, their work was not fruitless. They did publish forty different wall charts and completed forty-one different works. Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 12-14.
9. *Records of the Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China, May 2-4, 1893* (Shanghai, 1893), xi. [Hereafter cited as *Records of the Triennial Meeting of EAC (1893)*.]
10. *Records of the Triennial Meeting of EAC (1893)*, 2.
11. *Ibid.*, 1. The actual address can be found in pages 8-12.

12. Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People*, 28.
13. *Records of the Triennial Meeting of EAC (1893)*, 10.
14. *Ibid.*, 12-17. The title of the paper is, in fact, "The Problems of Christian Education in China" by the Rev. E. Faber. Richard's comments were recorded on page 16.
15. *Ibid.*, 17-26. Richard's comments were recorded on page 24.
16. *Ibid.*, 29-39. Richard's comments were recorded on page 38.
17. *Ibid.*, 39-40. Richard's comments were recorded on page 39.
18. *Ibid.*, 55. Richard's comments were recorded on the same page.
19. J. C. Ferguson assisted in the founding of Nanyang University in 1897; W. M. Hayes assisted in the founding of Chinan College in 1901; Calvin Mateer founded Tungchow College in 1877, which later became Shantung Christian College; F. L. H. Pott expedited the founding vision for St. John's University from 1888; D. Z. Sheffield founded North China College in 1889.
 Ferguson and Hayes's institutions from the beginning were government institutions for which they served as Presidents. Their close collaboration with Richard becomes significant in light of the imperial edict of 25 November 1901 which commanded the new schools to follow the regulations set forth by Yuan Shih-k'ai in the province of Shantung. It was while Yuan was still Governor there that he sought Hayes's assistance in drawing up these regulations. By this time, Richard and Hayes had more ten years of mutual effort through the EAC. Therefore, it is most probable that Richard's stamp was on those regulations, though indirectly, because of his long association with Hayes.
20. Richard was a frequent contributor to the newspaper *North China Herald* and the missionary publication *Chinese Recorder*.
21. *Records of the Second Triennial Meeting of EAC (1896)*, 6 and 19 respectively.
22. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 254-255. Richard was preparing a memorial for presentation to the Chinese government and securing signatures of church leaders. His attention to this matter likely precluded his participation at the May meeting. He was in Peking by September. Once there, Richard immediately set about to meet with various government officials, particularly Li Hung-chang. Richard wrote about his meeting with the reformer K'ang Yu-wei on October 17, 1895. Soon thereafter, K'ang's brilliant young disciple Liang, hearing that he needed a secretary, offered his services and remained with him for "all the time" Richard was in Peking until his departure from there on February 24, 1896. While no printed public acknowledgment by Liang

of their association has been located, it is significant that more than a decade later Liang visited with Richard in England. Liang was on his way to attend the Peace Conference in Versailles after World War I. At their meeting, Liang told Richard that he was the first to be visited even though he had many other letters of introductions. He "[s]aid how valuable T.R.'s [Timothy Richard] influence & help had been to China at the time of the Reform Movement." Timothy Richard, NLW Wyre Lewis Collection, Timothy Richard Papers, handwritten mss "Notes on His Visit—Liang Chi Chao," n.d.

Richard began meeting with the reformers soon after meeting K'ang and Liang. Most certainly he shared with all who would listen about his vision for a system of government-supported institutions of higher education. In fact, this research is suggestive it may have been Richard's contacts with these early reformers in 1895 which focused their attention on the need for "a true system of modern education" including not only institutions of higher education but earlier education as well. Marianne Bastid names 1895 as the pivotal date and the memorials by K'ang, as being a Chinese official's "first known attempt to envisage a true system of modern education . . . in which a large part of the school curriculum would be devoted to the teaching of sciences, technological skills, arts, and Western law (12)." Bailey gives credit for the original memorials requesting the establishment of an system to Li Tuan-fen (Li Duanfan) (22). It is possible the ideas still may have come from Richard. Li was Liang's brother-in-law. Since Liang was Richard's secretary at this time, most likely the three of them discussed the ideas together, but certainly Liang and Li would have discussed them. Maybe they all thought the idea coming from Li might be more acceptable as Li was freer to submit something like this since he did not have the close association with K'ang. Whether it was through personal contacts with Richard in 1895 or through Richard's writings about education from earlier years, all three were certainly influenced by Richard's ideas. Bastid, *Educational Reform in China*, 12; Bailey, *Reform the People*, 22; Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 358.

23. During Richard's stay in Peking, he had interviews with the Viceroy Li Hung-chang, with a tutor of the Emperor Sun Chia-nai, and with the Chinese "Prime Minister" Weng T'ung-ho to discuss China's need for various reforms, and education in particular. He also met with other high government officials and representatives.

24. For an overview of these years from K'ang's perspective, see Jung-Pang Lo, *K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press for the Association for Asian Studies, 1967), 38, 63-144.

25. He left Shanghai in early spring 1896 to rejoin his wife who had left Shanghai in December 1894 to take his two youngest daughters to Europe to receive their education. At their reunion, he also saw his two oldest daughters for the first time in ten years. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 289; Richard to wife, BMS MSS, 1 December 1894; Richard to "My Beloved and most longed for wife," BMS MSS, 13 March 1896.

26. *Records of Second Triennial Meeting of EAC (1896)*, 19.
27. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 292.
28. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 372, 374. For Richard's perspective on the entire Reform Movement, 1895-1898, see Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 253-268. In fact, Liang first went to Shanghai in 1897 and started the newspaper *The Chinese Progress*. It is most probable that Liang and Richard continued their relationship begun two years before since both of them were then involved in literary work in Shanghai aimed at reform. Research is needed to investigate their collaborations during this period.
29. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 368-376; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 360.
30. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 375.
31. For information about the coup d'état, see Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 378; Timothy Richard, "Educational Problems in China," *Records of the Third Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China, May 17-20, 1899* (Shanghai, 1899), 47. [Hereafter cited as *Records of Third Triennial Meeting of EAC (1899)*.] For information about his appointment, see Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 263-264.
32. See Kranz's 1895 article in the *Chinese Recorder* listing articles printed in that journal on education.
33. *Records of Third Triennial Meeting of EAC (1899)*, v.
34. "Educational Association of China," *Chinese Recorder* 30 (June 1899): 289. Missionaries Timothy Richard and Gilbert Reid were directly and actively involved with the Chinese reformers.
35. *Records of Third Triennial Meeting of EAC (1899)*, 7; Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 29 May 1899. In this letter, he emphasized to his Home Secretary the "great disproportion between the efforts of British and American Missionaries in the Educational line," perhaps as an indirect reminder that the Committee had not followed his recommendation about establishing provincial colleges of Western learning fourteen years earlier but also as a reminder of the need for educational missionaries.
36. This close association of Richard and Hayes is highly significant since it was Hayes who served as president of Yuan Shih-k'ai's university in Shantung cited in the a November 1901 imperial edict on education, and it was he who also assisted Yuan in writing up the regulations for education that were given the Empress Dowager's endorsement in the November 25, 1901, edict on education. This researcher would like to suggest that Hayes's ideas, in part, probably came from his many conversations with Richard over the years and after they were elected to the highest offices of the EAC in 1899.

37. *Records of Third Triennial Meeting of EAC (1899)*, 8. Richard himself called for this joint committee. Research suggests that the purpose of this committee was to explore a means of examining prospective teachers in Western learning. This practical suggestion was made by Mr. Gedye, but the origin was most likely Richard since the S.D.K. had already established a committee to devise such an examination scheme. Efforts of the two committees were to be coordinated. See Timothy Richard, "Educational Problems of China," *Records of Third Triennial Meeting of EAC (1899)*, 48. In this article he also enumerated twelve different educational problems China faced.
38. At the previous triennial meeting held in 1896, another Educational Reform Committee had been named: C. W. Mateer, A. G. Jones, Y. J. Allen, H. V. Noyes, Gilbert Reid, E. Faber, D. Z. Sheffield, G. B. Smyth, G. Owens, and Timothy Richard. This Committee apparently never issued a report, and perhaps it never convened. *Records of Second Triennial Meeting of EAC (1896)*, 19.
39. "Educational Association of China," *Chinese Recorder* 30 (June 1899): 292.
40. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 293.
41. See "Examination Scheme," *Chinese Recorder* 31 (August 1900): 420-423 for a description.
42. Richard recorded that he did see a "few officials" privately, the only ones we know by name is Li Hung-chung with Chow Fu (Zhou Fu) present. He corresponded with others, namely with Jung Lu (Rong Lu), a Manchu general and President of the Board of War as well as "confidant" of the Empress Dowager, and Kang Yi (Gang Yi), Grand Councillor. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 293; Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 370.
43. See titles listed under the "Report of Publication Committee" in "Educational Association of China," *Chinese Recorder* 30 (June 1899): 297-298.
44. "Educational Association of China," *Chinese Recorder* 31 (January 1900): 39-40.
45. E.T. Williams, "Records of the Third Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association," *Chinese Recorder* 31 (May 1900): 256.
46. The countries that entered China to protect their citizens and property were the USA, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Russia, The Netherlands, and Japan. Yam Tong Hoh, "The Boxer Indemnity Remissions and Education in China" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1933) 27-28.

47. Titles and copy counts included *Mental Philosophy and Hygiene* 400 copies, *Hand-books on Astronomy* 500 copies, *Hand-books on Birds and Mammals* 500 copies, *Owen's Geology* 500 copies, *History of England* 600 copies, *History of Russia* 500 copies, *Moral Philosophy* 400 copies, *Muirhead's Geography* 1,000 copies, and *Hand-book on Hydraulics and Hydrostatics* 400 copies. It is likely that these were printed to fulfill Yuan's proposal that he would examine all his expectant officials in Western learning before they take office.
48. J. A. Silsby, "Educational Association of China," *Chinese Recorder* 33 (February 1902): 85.
49. "Notes," *Chinese Recorder* 33 (June 1902): 302.
50. *Records of the Fourth Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China, May 21-23, 1902* (Shanghai, 1902), 5. [Hereafter cited as *Records of Fourth Triennial Meeting of EAC* (1902).]
51. Richard had been expected to conduct the EAC Opening Exercises May 21st and to deliver a paper on "Japanese Educational Movements in China and Our Relation to Them" during the afternoon session on that first day. This paper was neither presented by another nor placed on record in Richard's absence. See "Programme of Triennial Meeting," *Chinese Recorder* 33 (April 1902): 199-200.
52. Interestingly, Hayes was elected President for the next triennium. "Officers and Committees," *Chinese Recorder* 33 (June 1902): 302.
53. Richard was joined on this committee by the Revs. Y. J. Allen (Shanghai), G. John (Hankow), D. Z. Sheffield (Tungchow), C. W. Mateer (Tengchow), H. H. Lowry (Peking), F. L. Hawks Pott (Shanghai), A. P. Parker (Shanghai), and Bishop Hoare (Hongkong). Nowhere is the nature of this memorial made clear, but it probably included the "Course of Study and Examination Scheme as arranged by the Educational Association and the Diffusion Society" included in Appendix C, v-ix, of these *Records of Fourth Triennial Meeting of EAC* (1902). Most likely this was the same scheme that Richard had planned to present to the Chinese Government first in 1898 then again in the summer of 1899; he did not do so on the first occasion because of the coup d'état, and then on the second, he was advised against presenting it because of a conservative opposition to reform.
54. Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898-1912: The Xinheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993), 204.
55. Chang Chih-tung, Liu K'un-i, and Yuan Shih-k'ai were among those who submitted memorials in response the January 29th edict. These were men with whom Richard had many conversations over the previous two decades, so they were

thoroughly familiar with his ideas for educational reform. It is likely that their memorials bore the stamp of their earlier interviews with Richard and his many publications.

56. Bastid, *Educational Reform*, 34.

57. This would make the third time Richard attempted to present his educational reform ideas to the Throne in an official capacity. The first would have been in 1898 at the invitation of K'ang as an advisor to the emperor and the second in 1899 as a representative of the S.D.K. This time it would be as a member of S.D.K./EAC Joint Committee on Educational Reform and President of the EAC.

58. Simple stated, the *I-Ho Ch'üan* was a secret society whose members participated in a form of physical exercise that they believed would make them invincible to foreign weapons. They soon had the patronage of reactionary members of the Court who sought to eradicate the foreigners.

59. See *The Boxer Rising: A History of the Boxer Trouble in China Reprinted from the Shanghai Mercury* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1967), 115-118 for a contemporaneous listing of foreign victims.

60. Richard's wife Mary had died in 1903. In 1904 he had become Secretary of the International Red Cross in Shanghai. He continued to crusade on behalf of the second great passion he had—international or universal peace. His return to England for his third furlough enabled him also to attend the World-Baptist Conference in London and the Lucerne Peace Conference. At this latter Conference, he proposed his Scheme for Federation. Johnson, "Timothy Richard's Theory," 254. An interesting topic worthy of further research is his role in the founding of the League of Nations. An article written by Richard's daughter Eleanor (E. I. R.) appearing as a leader in the *Peking & Tientsin Times* in March 1919 entitled "A Foster Father of the League of Nations" posited a connection. A typewritten draft of this article is available in the Timothy Richard Collection of the Wyre Lewis Papers at the National Library of Wales.

61. Wang, "Educational Association of China," 191.

62. Soothill in *Timothy Richard of China* erroneously gave the years 1895 as the year for the D.D. from Emory College and 1900 for the honorary Litt.D. from Brown University (323-324). These errors most likely came from consulting Bowser's private manuscript which contains several other factual errors as well. This researcher's personal communications with both institutions disclosed that the degrees were conferred in 1900 and 1901, respectively. Richard received a third honorary LL.D. from the University of Wales in 1916, not 1913 as Bowser noted.

63. Albert J. Garnier, *A Maker of Modern China* (London: The Carey Press, 1945). 85.

64. "Editorial Notes," *Educational Review* 2 (January 1909): 10. The editor of the *Educational Review*, the English language professional journal of the EAC, noted the Shansi Governor Pao Fen had petitioned the Emperor to bestow some "reward upon Dr. Timothy Richard for his valuable work in connection with the establishment of Shansi University." The editor congratulated Richard "upon this evidence that his work has been appreciated by the Chinese officials." This most likely refers to Richard's receipt of the Double Dragon in 1907.

65. Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 170.

66. *Ibid.*, 173.

67. *Ibid.*, 176-177.

68. See Dr. Fong's address "The Co-operation of Chinese and Foreign Educationists in the Work of the Association," *Educational Review* 2 (July 1909): 1-6.

Commercial Press was at that time the largest book company in China. It was established in 1897 in Shanghai as the second book company in China. Its founders were Christians and had received at least part of their training in the Presbyterian Mission Press. In 1902, the Commercial Press began cooperating with a Japanese Press, even establishing a Japanese compiling department with a Japanese as head. This department began to "edit and publish a series of textbooks for primary and middle schools." By 1906 Commercial Press was publishing 54 different books approved by the Educational Department of the Chinese government. "From 1902 to 1910, more than 300 books were published, some of them exceeding more than 300,000 copies." Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 45-46.

69. Wang, "The Educational Association of China," 151.

70. *Ibid.*, as quoted from *Records of the Sixth Triennial Meeting of the Educational Association of China May 19-22, 1909* (Shanghai, 1909), 171-174. [Hereafter cited as *Records of Sixth Triennial Meeting of EAC* (1909).]

71. The long-standing imperial system was toppled through a revolution that broke out the year before, and the Chinese were attempting to establish a republican system of government. See Timothy Richard, "The Future of the Educational Association," *Chinese Recorder* 43 (April 1912): 230-238.

CHAPTER VI
FULFILLING THE VISION: THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF SHANSI,
1901-1911

The history of the Imperial University of Shansi actually dates back to Richard's proposal to Shansi Governor Tseng Kuo-ch'uan (Zeng Guochuan) to found in T'aiyuan a college of modern learning as one of the means of averting future famine.¹ There is no evidence that Tseng made any attempt to implement the suggestion. When his successor, Chang Chih-tung, was looking in the provincial archives for suggestions to enrich the people and avert future famine, he came across Richard's proposals and was intrigued. He sent a special deputation to invite Richard to leave his work as a missionary to become his advisor. Richard declined the government position as he believed his work as a Christian missionary to be even more important.² Nevertheless, he indicated he would recommend experts to assist Chang. Richard himself even did some surveying for Chang. In 1884 when Chang was appointed to his next position in Canton then later in Wuchang, he began reforms very similar to Richard's recommendations, specifically to found colleges that included Western learning and to develop mining and steel smelting.³

By 1884 Richard's vision for higher education reform had expanded to include all of China. For more than two decades, Richard continued his efforts make China aware of its need for modern higher education. He envisioned a system of higher

educational institutions teaching modern Western learning established in the provincial capitals. He sought first to have this vision implemented through missionary agency. Despite the bitter disappointment he experienced with each failed attempt to implement his educational vision through them, whether because of the lack of funds, misunderstanding, or even direct opposition by his missionary colleagues, he pressed on in his efforts to disseminate his vision among Chinese scholars and officials. His perseverance was finally rewarded when the vision became substance with the Chinese government's approval of the scheme to establish a college of Western learning in Shansi's provincial capital of T'aiyuan and the subsequent issuing of imperial edicts in late 1901 for the founding of a system of educational institutions, particularly of higher education.⁴

The event that "unfroze" the status quo in China eventually ushering in permanent educational change was the Boxer Uprising.⁵ This grassroots-level uprising in 1900, encouraged from the highest level of the Chinese government, brought an international outrage against the Chinese because of the killing of missionaries, including women and children, many who had gone to China with the purest and most altruistic of motives.⁶ Richard was returning from the Ecumenical Conference on missions in New York when the violence broke out. When his ship arrived in Yokohama, Japan, on July 2nd, he became aware of the gravity of the situation in China. There he read of the murder of the German minister in Peking and the "narrow escape of the Shantung missionaries." He sought to prod the British government to send telegrams to the Chinese viceroys and provincial governors informing them that

they would be held accountable for the well-being of the foreigners within their borders.⁷ Soon after his return to China on July 7th, Richard took an active role in trying to secure the safety of missionaries throughout China as well as receive credible information about their welfare. By the end of July, he was sufficiently alarmed about the situation to send his wife ahead of himself to Japan as there had been rumors of Boxer violence in Shanghai. The Richards remained in Japan until mid-September at which time they returned to Shanghai. By then eye-witness accounts of the massacres were becoming available.⁸ The magnitude of the violence was then becoming known. However, it was not until the international outcry was backed by the Allied military forces from at least nine nations that the massacres ceased and the Boxer Movement was quelled.⁹ By that time, Peking was in ruins and the Court had fled to Sian (Xian) in exile.¹⁰ Once there, perhaps the Empress Dowager realized that in order for her to retain power she needed to restore the confidence of or ingratiate herself to both the international community and the more progressive Chinese officials. Consequently, in January 1901 she issued an edict from Sian acknowledging the Court's responsibility for the problems and requesting officials submit recommendations for reform.¹¹ Whether this was a sincere *mea culpa* or merely an effort to curry the favor of foreigners in order to forestall any further military action is still a moot point.¹² Nevertheless, it is an irrefutable fact that with this edict the tide gates of reform were again opened which led to drastic institutional changes within the government. This was not of short duration as was the Hundred Days Reform. This period of issuing reform edicts continued under imperial sanction by the Empress Dowager until 1906, a

period of almost five years.¹³ By then the tide of reform could not be stemmed but continued to rise until it finally washed away in 1911 not only the Ch'ing dynasty but also the ancient imperial system.

Nations that lost citizens and property in the various Boxer confrontations began to demand indemnities from China. As early as November 1900, Richard and others had begun to address the issue of indemnities. Richard, it seemed, was concerned with extracting not only justice but securing the "goodwill instead of the enmity of the people at large."¹⁴ At this point Richard embarked upon what must have seemed to him as the most satisfying times of his entire forty-five years in China. Richard wrote

In 1901, although I had taken a leading part in the Reform Movement, which finally compelled the Government to fly for refuge to Shensi, I was invited by Prince Ch'ing and Li Hung-chang, who had been appointed Peace Plenipotentiaries, to aid in the settlement of indemnities for the massacres in the Shansi province.¹⁵

All the missionaries in Shansi had either been massacred or fled to other provinces, so no one was left in the province with whom the officials could negotiate the indemnities. Richard, on the other hand, was well-known by officials and people alike in Shansi for his humanitarian efforts in famine relief more than twenty years before. Furthermore, he had served as a missionary in the Shansi area for almost ten years following the famine. Moreover, since Prince Ch'ing and Viceroy Li had many contacts with Richard over the years, they also knew him to be a man of integrity who had much experience in China and who exerted much influence within the missionary community. Additionally, it was Richard who, as a representative of the Protestant missionaries, had sent memorials on several occasions over the last 15 years to the

Throne pleading for its intervention in the persecution of native and foreign Christians. Choosing Richard as the one with whom they should confer in order to settle the missionary indemnity questions for Shansi Province seemed to be the reasonable choice for them to make.¹⁶

The Chinese Peace Plenipotentiaries were eager to settle the Shansi indemnity question. They had promised the Allied forces that they would "instruct the Governor of Shansi to protect and provide for the surviving native Christians." Soon thereafter Richard wired the new Governor to ask "what had been done." The Governor replied indicating that the remains of those killed were buried and famine relief had been distributed among the surviving Christians in T'aiyuan and T'aiku (Taigu).¹⁷ Richard then conferred first with his own B.M.S. about filing the indemnity claims that were due the end of April. The B.M.S. acknowledged it was going to file claims only for mission property lost or destroyed and missionary personal effects and furniture. Richard instructed the B.M.S. to notify the heirs and let them decide if they wanted to file a claim for the lives lost. Apparently, some of the representatives of the other Protestant mission societies which had lost personnel in Shansi were considering filing indemnities for the missionaries killed.¹⁸ Richard did not believe this to be appropriate as the indemnity was to be paid to descendants, and the missionary societies could not be considered their descendants.

It was at this juncture and at the insistence of Shen Tun-ho, the Head of Shansi's Foreign Affairs Bureau, that recently assigned Governor Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan of Shansi wired the Shanghai Taot'ai a telegram dated April 23, 1901, to request for

Richard come to Shansi to "settle the missionary and commercial troubles of Shansi."¹⁹ The Shanghai Taot'ai carried this telegram to Richard. Together they hammered out and then signed an initial agreement in Shanghai with the Shanghai Taot'ai signing on behalf of Governor Ts'en. A memorial was to be "sent to the Throne for approval of a scheme providing for the early establishment of a university at T'ai-yuan-fu. . . the students are to have all the privileges of students in the Peking university. . . ." Soon thereafter the Chinese Peace Plenipotentiaries Li and Ch'ing petitioned the British Consul Sir Ernest Swatow to request Richard go to Shansi; however, Swatow did not forward this request as he did not feel it safe for Richard to travel into the interior.²⁰ Moir Duncan, who was serving as a British interpreter in Peking and probably privy to the knowledge of this petition, wired Richard to come immediately to Peking.²¹ Richard arrived in Peking on May 14th. By May 25th, he had met with Li and Ch'ing as well as some of the foreign plenipotentiaries. Moreover, he had interviewed leading Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries to see what was being done to settle the missionary problems in Chihli. Richard wrote that he had "wired to the Governor of Shansi some general principles for the settlement, and have now a full scheme for settlement under consideration."²² Though these principles were not enumerated in this early correspondence with the Home Secretary, three principles are most likely: the mission societies were not willing to accept money in payment for the loss of missionary lives;²³ the government must provide indemnities to provide for the surviving native Christians; steps must be taken remove the causes of such an outbreak of violence through the establishment of an institution of Western learning in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan.

Richard then wrote a postscript dated May 30th to the May 25th letter which stated that he and two others "saw the Viceroy Li Hung-chang yesterday [May 29th] and presented our regulations for the settlement of missions troubles. The Viceroy said they were good."²⁴ As Richard later wrote, he had presented a proposition

to satisfy the consciences of the foreign nations and to redeem the character of the Chinese themselves from dishonor . . . A university of Western learning where Chinese students should be taught and fitted for positions of usefulness in connection with the government and as professors in other institutions of learning.²⁵

I proposed that a fine of half a million taels should be imposed upon the province, to be paid in yearly instalments of fifty thousand taels and that the money should be devoted to the establishment in T'aiyuan fu of a University on Western lines, the aim being to remove the ignorance and superstition that had been the main cause of the massacre of the foreigners. . . . they [the Peace Plenipotentiaries] placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum, and the administration of the funds of the University in my hands for ten years, after which period the control would pass into the hands of the provincial Government.²⁶

Soon thereafter, Richard indicated that Li and Ch'ing got the Empress Dowager "to sanction the establishment of a University College in Shansi."²⁷

On September 14, 1901, almost four months after the plan for establishing the college of Western learning in T'aiyuan was first approved by the Peace Plenipotentiaries, the Court issued its first edict calling for existing academies in provincial capitals to be converted to colleges having both the Confucian studies and Western learning.²⁸ This was the first imperial edict promulgated after the Boxer Uprising to establish a system of educational institutions.²⁹ Whether this September edict was the Court's indirect sanction of Richard's ideas or an effort to subvert his efforts cannot be determined solely from the English language sources. Nonetheless this edict

fulfilled the vision for educational reform in China which Richard first began articulating among Chinese and Westerners alike some twenty years earlier—the establishment of colleges of modern Western learning in the provincial capitals. The final ratification of the Boxer issues in Shansi Province by the Chinese government did not come until November 8th, and this included the final official stamp by the Chinese government for the college Richard was creating.³⁰ Richard wrote his home mission secretary that “the native papers were loud in their praise of it as ‘overcoming evil with good.’”³¹

This University—first proposed to and approved by the Shansi governor by proxy in April 1901, approved by the Peace Plenipotentiaries the end of May 1901, sanctioned by the imperial edict in September 1901, and received final approval in the Shansi settlement of November 8, 1901—was the real model, or at least impetus, for China’s system of higher education institutions.³² Soon after this agreement was approved, the Chinese government overcame its reluctance to have a system of higher educational institutions teaching Western learning located in provincial capitals throughout the Empire. Viceroy Chang and Liu Kun-i also made similar calls for educational reform but later in July 1901, but both of these men had received Richard’s S.D.K. publications and had been well acquainted with his ideas on reform for many years. Perhaps it was more acceptable to the Throne to acknowledge that the impetus for such reform edicts came from loyal Chinese officials than from a Christian missionary, particularly one who had been closely associated with the “bandits” K’ang and Liang during the ill-fated 1895-1898 Reform Movement. The next significant edicts to be promulgated on education were on November 16 and 25, 1901, and these officially ordered the provinces to take

Yuan Shih-k'ai's college and regulations from Shantung as the model. Yuan too was very familiar with Richard's educational vision through his earlier involvement in the ill-fated Reform Movement, but he had demonstrated his "loyalty" to the Empress Dowager by alerting to an impending coup. Was this a mark of imperial favor for Yuan and a move to prepare him for further promotion? Then more imperial edicts were issued the following year in 1902 to establish the modern system of education for China, particularly higher education, this time based on a memorial by Chang Chih-tung. By this time, Chang was advocating the Japanese model of education. Therefore, his focus was on primary and secondary education not higher education.³³ Nevertheless, Richard's original plan for the college in T'aiyuan preceded all these other memorials, and this chain of events as described above is highly suggestive that Richard's college of Western learning may be the model, or at least the impetus. This chain of events needs further research in the Chinese sources.

Once he received the approval in late May 1901 from Li and Ch'ing of his proposed college in T'aiyuan, Richard returned to Shanghai in mid-June to continue with his work at the S.D.K. and on other projects.³⁴ Before he left Peking, however, he had organized a party of missionaries to return to Shansi, at the governor's invitation, to negotiate the founding of the college, to reinstate a missionary presence there, and to provide aid and comfort to famine sufferers there and in Shensi, the neighboring province to the west. This entire Shansi Expedition, which included eight missionaries and several others but no armed guard, arrived in T'aiyuan without incident and were received with great ceremony on July 9, 1901, exactly one year after the missionaries were massacred

there in the governor's yamen. Richard indicated in a letter dated August 24th that he was "in telegraphic and letter correspondence with Edwards and Governor about education there."³⁵ This is the first mention in his correspondence with Baynes that "education" was involved the Shansi Boxer indemnity settlement terms he had drawn up with the Peace Plenipotentiaries Li and Ch'ing. Fully assured that the college would materialize, Richard was likely using his time in Shanghai to locate foreign professors who would be willing to go to T'aiyuan to teach at the soon-to-be established college. Finally, in a letter to Baynes dated August 26th, Richard informed him he had received a long telegraphic dispatch from the Shansi governor indicating his "desire to establish a College of Western learning in Taiyuenfu (sic) so that when the people know the state of the world that the repetition of last year's massacre will be impossible, etc."³⁶ Governor Ts'en had requested Richard go to T'aiyuan to serve as its first president or recommend one who would go. At that point, Richard solicited financial support from the B.M.S. to pay the salary of one of their missionaries to go to fill the position. He presented precedents by three American missions boards that paid salaries of men who served as presidents of government colleges or universities.³⁷ By the time the Shansi Expedition finished its work, the governor made no further substantive decisions about the inauguration of the college. Richard wrote Baynes on September 28, 1901:

I am strongly pushing the Educational scheme on Shansi at the expense of the Chinese government under the guidance of a missionary in the hope that it will encourage friendly relations between missionaries and officials. Whether it will succeed or not it is too premature yet to say.³⁸

When the final settlement of the Shansi Boxer indemnity affairs finally took place on November 8th, this likely included the final agreement to establish the college of

Western learning in T'aiyuan. A contract was drawn up and formalized by Richard and the Shanghai Taot'ai on behalf of the Shansi governor. Then, Richard went ahead with his plans to staff the college. He expected to get the first annual installment of 100,000 taels in two months.³⁹ He himself could not become president because of the press of his work in Shanghai, so he asked his friend and former colleague from Shantung A. G. Jones if he would accept the position for two or three years. When Jones declined the offer, Richard offered the presidency to Moir Duncan who accepted the challenge.⁴⁰ In early spring 1902, Richard left Shanghai to visit T'aiyuan to "arrange some fundamental principles in person face to face with the governor."⁴¹ Richard's aim, then, was "to make the Shansi University a lever for the uplifting of the leaders of the whole province to the level of the kingdom of Heaven as conceived in modern days."⁴² When he arrived in T'aiyuan with the first foreign professors⁴³ to open the new university, he was dismayed to find that

strong measures were being made to establish a Government University similar to the one I had authority to found. It was to be placed under the control of an anti-foreign official who had done his best to oppose the Western University.⁴⁴

He believed this institution violated the original agreement made with Li and Prince Ch'ing, ratified by imperial edict, and validated by the Shanghai Taot'ai for Governor Ts'en. He immediately appealed to Governor Ts'en about the impracticality of having two rival colleges in T'aiyuan. Ts'en was not unopposed to the "healthy rivalry"⁴⁵ that might operate between the two institutions. Richard explained that with the appropriate division of labor between them they could more efficiently and frugally operate if the two combined into one institution.⁴⁶ Thinking to garner support, the rival side suggested that

the students who had already matriculated write an essay on "the advantages and disadvantages of a united university."⁴⁷ Quite surprising for the opposition "... out of 108 essays 68 were in favour of union and only 13 definitely against it."⁴⁸ Richard entered into a period of prolonged renegotiations that continued for three and one-half months until Ts'en finally accepted Richard's compromise. A new contract was drawn up formulating regulations to amalgamate the two institutions into one Imperial University. The contract and regulations for the amalgamated institution were signed and sent to Peking where it was then signed and "confirmed by Imperial Seal from Peking, and form[ed] the constitution" of the University.⁴⁹ The new institution, then

should include two departments—a Chinese department, to be controlled by Chinese and to have purely Chinese studies, and a Western department, under my control for ten years, to have purely Western subjects.⁵⁰

This June 1902 compromise to establish the amalgamated university in T'aiyuan in no wise negated the force of his earlier proposal. In the final analysis, by Richard creating the university of Western learning using money extracted from the provincial government as a fine imposed upon the province, instead of accepting indemnities, satisfied both the demand by the various nations that the Chinese government accept responsibility and be punished for the loss of foreign lives in Shansi Province during the Boxer Uprising and the refusal of the various Protestant mission societies to accept monetary relief for their missionaries killed. The most critical outcomes from this settlement for the purpose of this research, however, are that Richard's founding of the Imperial University of Shansi in truth prodded the Chinese government to overcome its inertia and establish a system of modern higher education for China; furthermore, the

founding of the Imperial University of Shansi, and its cascading effect upon other the provinces, was the ultimate vindication of Richard's vision for the establishment of this system of higher education he began to articulate as early as 1880.

The Imperial University of Shansi became a significant institution of higher education in seven different respects, and in these may have served as model to the entire Empire.⁵¹ Firstly, it was a completely government-supported institution, but although a government institution, the University had a decidedly Christian bent.⁵² While the Governor refused to sanction the teaching of the course entitled "Comparative Morals and Religions," the faculty were not expressly forbidden by the agreement to teach either.⁵³ Many of the foreign faculty of the Western Department were Christians who came to China in missionary service. "Every Sunday, also, the Principal and Faculty held a service in the University premises, and the missionaries were at liberty to work among the students."⁵⁴ Furthermore, even though Christian theology was not taught directly, the faculty, and Duncan in particular, took the opportunity within their lectures, as appropriate, to show "the beneficial results of Christianity."⁵⁵ William E. Soothill, the successor Richard appointed as principal of the Western Department after Moir Duncan's death, took a somewhat different approach. Though a missionary with the United Methodist Free Church Mission from Great Britain, Soothill did not feel the University was the "place for religious propaganda."⁵⁶ However, Soothill became the first president of the B.M.S.-initiated Y.M.C.A. where standing-room only crowds of young men would listen to "lectures on general topics considered from the religious standpoint."⁵⁷ Richard also reported that the students had an even greater interest in the Bible as the "root of

Christian civilization" after a Chancellor of Education in the province exhorted the students to "study the classics of the Western people as well as our own classics."⁵⁸

Secondly, the governance of the university was a joint chancellorship held by the Governor of Shansi and Timothy Richard, with the total control of funds, personnel, and curriculum of the Western Department placed squarely in Richard's missionary hands. This meant that the Western Department was "an integral part of the Governmental Educational Institution for the province of Shansi, but the finance, studies, and discipline [were] under the control of foreigners," specifically a Christian missionary.⁵⁹ Besides teaching, Principal Duncan had the responsibility for the day by day management of personnel, students, and proper administration of the resources. He also oversaw the construction of the new facility which the University moved into by 1906. Perhaps most important, Duncan was responsible for maintaining amicable relations with the Chinese Department.

Thirdly, built into the founding of this university was the planned devolution from missionary to indigenous leadership within the period of ten years. From his earliest years as a missionary in Shantung, Richard had encouraged the Chinese to be self-supporting and self-directing in their endeavors. The Imperial University of Shansi was no different. This handover occurred as agreed upon without any disruption. In fact, the handover took place earlier than the ten years. Richard began the process on his visit to T'aiyuan in November 1910, but the final turnover was implemented by Soothill in June 1911.⁶⁰ The planned devolution of this University was a unique feature, but nothing this researcher has read has revealed the source of this idea for Richard. Perhaps it is rooted

in Richard's pedagogical methodology and religious beliefs. That is to say, Richard used a mentoring approach, one in which the more experienced teaches the less experienced. Nonetheless, the raising up of indigenous leadership was a persistent theme in all of Richard's efforts in China and entirely consistent with his previous endorsement of self-support and self-direction by the Chinese of their institutions, be it a school or a church.

Fourthly, during the first three years students participated in a program of studies that prepared them for the matriculation examination at London University. No other government university in existence at that time in China had a curriculum whose initial course of study prepared its graduates for direct matriculation into a specific university in a Western country.⁶¹ The subjects taught during the earliest years of the University included mathematics, English, chemistry, physics, drawing, zoology, geography, physiology, law, history, and gymnastics. At the end of the three-year preparatory course, students would be awarded certificates entitling them (*a*) to employment as teachers in government schools, or (*b*) to enter upon any special course of study to qualify for graduation."⁶² The last three years of study offered advanced specialized study with degrees offered at the completion in law, sciences, language, medicine, or engineering (mining or civil)⁶³ after demonstrating "competent knowledge" by examination. "The Chinese Government will, by the constitution of the institution, recognize the degrees, and the graduating students will be eligible for public office."⁶⁴

Fifthly, the language of instruction was to be Chinese either directly or through interpreters. In the past, mission schools which were more contextualized would, in fact, spend half the day in the study of Western subjects and the other half in studying the

Chinese classics as opposed to teaching only in English with no Chinese subjects. On the other hand, Richard's plan expedited the process enabling the students to complete their education at the University in six years than the usual 12 in the mixed studies curriculum. This would eliminate the need to study English before proceeding with the University curriculum.⁶⁵ Therefore, all instruction was to be given in the Chinese language, if necessary through an interpreter, "... to ensure a maximum of efficiency in a minimum of time."⁶⁶

Sixthly, the "students were all to be Chinese graduates, either Sui-ts'ai (sic) (B.A.) or Chu-jen (M.A.), and were to be selected by the Literary Chancellor or Governor from the graduates of the province."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, they were expected to pass some form of entrance examination.⁶⁸ Therefore, "it may be said that the University [was] an attempt to superpose a Western education upon a basis of a Chinese one."⁶⁹ Moreover, the students were expected to be under thirty years of age and to make a contract for at least three years. They were charged no fees but were to be given a monthly stipend 2 to 8 Taels (\$1.50 to \$5.00) by the provincial government, not the Western Department.⁷⁰ All academic materials, including books and writing materials, were provided at no charge by the respective department.⁷¹

Lastly, the institution had a firm commitment of government financial support. The government, in this case provincial, was required include in its budget at least 50,000 taels a year for ten years to support this modern higher education endeavor. Moreover, the government was required to demonstrate its further support in this educational effort

by providing the necessary buildings until it could complete the construction of appropriate buildings to house the new educational institution.

The Governor planned to turn over the "best building" in the city to be used temporarily by the University until its campus could be built. On the very day he was to do this, Ts'en found out that the head of the Chinese Department, who had opposed Richard's plan from the beginning, was now attempting to undermine his authority with officials in Peking. The Governor was so outraged at this official's audacity that "[h]e instantly ordered this official to hand over everything belonging to his Chinese University and to leave T'ai-yuan fu that very day."⁷² In September 1902 the construction plans for the new campus were drawn up and construction was begun.

The buildings designed for the Western Department were a reception hall, to contain a reception room for officials and the principal's office, a building containing lecture rooms for law, literature, science, medicine, chemistry, and engineering, with necessary offices for the faculty, laboratories for chemistry and physics, and a room for drawing classes, library, museum, and gymnasium; besides residences for the foreign faculty and bachelor members of the Chinese staff, with all the necessary servants' quarters. It was necessary to have an entrance court that would satisfy Chinese ideas of the style suitable to an Imperial University; this required waiting-rooms for the under officials who accompany the Governor and any other provincial officials on all occasions, and housing for their sedan chairs and runners in bad weather.⁷³

Chinese convention was followed in the layout and the actual construction of the buildings. The one exception was the "foreign pattern" of the doors and windows.⁷⁴ "The whole university was lighted by electricity, the apparatus, from boiler to switches, being transported on mule-back from T'ientsin, and erected by Mr. N.T. Williams, the mining professor."⁷⁵ There also was the expectation that a clinic "can be established in time just outside the present grounds, so as to be accessible to the medical students."⁷⁶

Enrollment was expected to increase with the advent of the railroad in "three or four years" requiring further improvement to the buildings.⁷⁷ Construction was completed, and the University was in its new campus by 1906.

At this time in China, there were no suitable textbooks available cover the various needs of the various six-year programs. Therefore, Richard anticipated setting aside "ten thousand taels per annum of the Shansi University funds towards the preparation of textbooks."⁷⁸ These textbooks were then provided through a translation department Richard established for the Imperial University of Shansi housed within the S.D.K. in Shanghai consisting of "ten Chinese translators and writers and one Japanese translator under the management of a foreign superintendent, the Rev. John Darroch."⁷⁹ An attempt was made to standardize terminology by transliterating a list of biographical and geographical names. This issue had always been a problem when doing Chinese translations. Titles translated by this bureau included Wallace's *The Wonderful Century*, Clodd's *Evolution*, Brougham's *Introduction to the Study of Science*, Remsen's *Chemistry*, Wong's *Tables of Chinese Chronology from the Chow Dynasty*, Rambaud's *History of Russia*, textbooks of the Tokyo Normal School, *Mineralogy for Beginners*, *Physics*, *The Twentieth Century Atlas of Popular Astronomy*, Myer's *Universal History*, Gibbins' *History of Commerce in Europe*, *The Progress of Seven Great Nations in Education, Art, and Commerce* with illustrative diagrams, Johnston's *Physical Geography*, and *Multum in Parvo Atlas of the World*, to name a few.⁸⁰

Within a year of opening for classes with 205 students enrolled, the Imperial University of Shansi had already begun to fulfill one of its purposes—to remove

"ignorance."⁸¹ This University already had several foreign professors on staff while the other "... Western colleges which were being started six months ago in each province have no foreign professors in them. Thus they make it impossible for the students to get a true account of foreigners."⁸² Then, by 1904 the Imperial University of Shansi had already developed a good reputation, and by 1906 it clearly achieved some measure of success.⁸³ Not only did the University have its largest enrollment of 339 students that year, but it also had its first graduates to go abroad for advanced study. Twenty-five students were sent to England for further study in mining and railway engineering, twenty-three with the support of the provincial government.⁸⁴

So convinced did the Provincial Government become of the value of modern education that they bore the further expense of sending successful students to England for a further five years' course of study. Thus at one time there were more Shansi University students in England than from any other educational institution in China.⁸⁵

Eventually there were close to seventy students studying abroad at provincial expense. This "voluntary expenditure" was a clear indicator of and tribute to the "value of the work done by the university."⁸⁶ In further recognition of the status the University had achieved, the year before the principal of its Western Department, Moir Duncan, had an honorary LL.D. conferred upon him by Glasgow University in Scotland in recognition of his efforts to make the Imperial University of Shansi the success it had become.⁸⁷ Another evidence of the high regard in which the University was held was the extraordinary voluntary grant made by the Shansi Governor Pao Fen for the enlargement of the Chemistry Department which made it the "most efficient and up-to-date institution of its kind in China."⁸⁸

In retrospect, the University's first five years took place in a China that was experiencing rapid and extraordinary educational changes, and the University played the important role of being the plowshare to break up the fallow ground in this new age for education in China. The original approval of the plan for the college of Western learning by the end of May 1901 with the subsequent issuing of the September and November 1901 imperial edicts commanding that colleges be established in the provincial capitals presaged the founding of a system of modern government-supported higher education in China.⁸⁹ Many other educational institutions were being founded with a government capital commitment similar as to the Imperial University of Shansi. In an editorial comment in the August 1902 *Chinese Recorder*, Richard's funding level in Shansi was presented as the standard and source of information for the level of provincial funding required by several other universities being established at that time. It noted that

several other provinces are raising Tls. 50,000 per annum (more or less) for the establishment of universities of Western learning in their respective provinces, and that the northern provinces, where the Boxers made the greatest havoc in 1900, are taking the lead (427).

In another article, Richard specifically listed ten different provinces and the funding devoted to opening the new colleges in 1901-1902:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Funds provided</i>
Chekiang (Zhejiang)	50,000 strings of cash /annum
Honan (Henan)	30,000 Taels/annum
Kweichow (Guizhou)	20,000 Taels/annum
Fookien (Fujian)	50,000 Mex. Dollars/annum
Kiangsi (Jiangxi)	Over 60,000 Mex. Dollars/annum
Kwangtung (Guangdong)	100,000 Taels/annum
Soochow (Suzhou)	Several tens of thousands Taels/annum

Nanking (Nanjing)	-----
Shantung (Shandong)	50,000 Taels/annum
Shansi (Shanxi)	50, 000 Taels/annum
Chihli (Included Hebei and Peking)	-----
Prefectural Colleges in Soochow	10,000 Taels
Prefectural Colleges in Shantung under Roman Catholic Bishop Anzer	2,000 Taels

"This comes to about half a million of Taels annually for the whole Empire for modern education. Such is the new departure, which dates from 1901-2."⁹⁰ While this did not equal the million taels for modern education in China that Richard had recommended to Li at least a decade earlier, it was a radical departure from the past and worthy of note.

Many other educational changes also began to take place. In August 1901 an edict had been issued, to go into effect the following year, to replace the "eight-legged essay" on the civil service examination for degrees with questions about current topics. In September 1901 and October 1902, provincial authorities were ordered by imperial edicts to select students for study abroad. Hanlin and other scholars holding the highest degree were ordered in December 1902 to study in the various departments of the Imperial University of Peking. The July 1905 edict calling for the examining of students returning from studying abroad prepared the way for the *coup de grace*—imperial edicts in August to abolish the ancient civil service examination system and in December 1905 to establish a separate Ministry of Education. These last two edicts clearly marked the demise of the Confucian classics as the curriculum and the advent of a more modern educational system. This was confirmed in August 1906 with the establishment of a system of modern public education, this one to be modeled after the Japanese.⁹¹ Most of these developments did have an impact on the Imperial University of Shansi, but the

influence of Japan was not felt directly until after the University devolved to Chinese control. At that point, Japan's influence was felt through the influence of its Japan-trained Chinese faculty.

When Richard visited the University in 1908, Pao Fen (Bao Fen) was then the Governor of Shansi with whom Richard was serving as Joint Chancellor. Two of the original foreign professors, Bevan and Nystrom, were still on staff. Bevan had served as Interim Principal 1906-1907 after the death of Duncan in 1906 and was now serving officially in the position of vice principal under the new principal, William E. Soothill.⁹² Besides this principal, other new foreign faculty included E. H. Cartwright (Westminister), Language and Literature; N. T. Williams (B.Sc., Wales, M.I.M.E., Certified Colliery Manager), Mining and Engineering; A. W. Warrington (M.Sc., Victoria University), Physical Science.⁹³ There had also been changes in the Chinese faculty of the Western Department. New members included W. S. Feng (Tengchow College, Shantung), C. A. Chen (Pei Yang Telegraph College, T'ientsin), J. Huang (Anglo-Chinese College, Foochow), S. L. Sung (Queen's College, Hong Kong), and C. C. Wu (Chinese graduate). Other new administrative Chinese faculty included Hsieh Yung Lu, Litt. D., Hanlin, as Director, Liu Mou Hsiang, M.A., as Proctor, and C. C. Chang as the Librarian.

In honor of Richard's visit, the President of the Provincial Assembly convened students from all the provincial schools in a municipal square.

The President . . . mentioned that some two thousand pupils were gathered there, some from military, some from agricultural, and some from normal schools without the University, for all the chief teachers in them had at one time or another passed through the University; and not only in Tai-

yuan fu, but in all other cities in Shansi, similar schools were being opened, owing to the stimulus given to education by the University.⁹⁴

Richard never intended to retain indefinite governance of the University. In fact, he had built into the founding policy the stipulation that in ten years full control of the University would devolve to Chinese leadership. He saw his involvement to be a mentoring role as the were Chinese apprenticed with him in the administration of a modern educational institution. In November 1910 the Governor and Provincial Assembly "sent an urgent telegram" to Richard requesting he come first to T'aiyuan before returning to Shanghai after his arrival in Peking following his latest trip to England.⁹⁵ The Provincial Assembly relayed it would defer its meeting five day awaiting his arrival. This deferring an important meeting until a foreigner's was an honor never before voluntarily given to any missionary by officials in China.⁹⁶ Upon arriving in T'aiyuan, Richard was given a rousing reception, and "they spoke in the highest terms of the immense service rendered to the whole province by the University."⁹⁷ He sensed the time had indeed come to devolve leadership of the University to the Chinese. Without waiting until the official end of the ten-year period the next spring, Richard made the decision to relinquish his control during this visit, "[b]eing convinced that modern education had taken such a deep root in the province that it would never be eradicated"⁹⁸ On November 13, 1910, Richard received assurances that the contracts of the foreign professors would be honored and the University enlarged. Two days later he signed the necessary documents devolving the total control of the Imperial University of Shansi to the Chinese.⁹⁹ This involved relinquishing ". . . buildings, apparatus and funds of the institution to the Chinese officials and gentry of Shansi. The officials agreed to

carry on the institution perpetually as a university.”¹⁰⁰ “At the time I gave over my control the foreign professors numbered eight, assisted by fourteen Chinese professors and teachers.”¹⁰¹ Thus, Richard released the University into very capable hands to continue to fulfill its original purpose to remove “ignorance and superstition” by enlightening the minds of the students of Shansi.¹⁰² By the time of this turnover to the Chinese in 1910, 345 student had been “under instruction” in the Preparatory Program.

Of these 252 have already successfully graduated, upon 139 of whom the degree of *chu jen* has been Imperially bestowed. Nearly one hundred of these are now taking a four years’ post-graduate course in Law under Professor Bevan, in Advanced Chemistry under Prof. Nystrom, in Mining under Prof. Williams, and in Civil Engineering under Prof. Aust with a view to the *chin ssu* examination. Two classes of sixty men have just graduated, and there are sixty more in the Preparatory department who graduate next Spring.¹⁰³

This handover of the Imperial University of Shansi in 1910 marked Timothy Richard’s final act on the stage of the reform of higher education in China.¹⁰⁴ The impact of his vision for educational reform was clearly reflected in the imperial edicts of 1901-1906. The zenith of Richard’s career in promoting education in China and the true cornerstone for China’s new system of government-supported higher education was the Imperial University of Shansi. “Whatever the future may bring forth the province has most gracefully (sic?) acknowledged its past indebtedness to Dr. Richard, and his colleagues.”¹⁰⁵

Since these words were spoken in 1910, the University has weathered various wars and political winds and has endured many permutations, but in accordance with the agreement made with Dr. Timothy Richard then, it continues today as the premier university in the province. Until recently, Richard’s connection with the University had

been forgotten maybe even ignored.¹⁰⁶ While walking on the main thoroughfare in the Shanxi Province capital of Taiyuan in 1986, I was told by a Christian foreigner, who was teaching English in T'aiyuan, that Shanxi University had been founded by missionaries. When questioned further, this person did not know their names. Shanxi University, founded a century ago, is now recalling its rich history and will officially celebrate its Centennial on May 8, 2002. This University continues to endure today as one in a vast network of government-supported colleges and universities located in provincial capitals throughout the country that educates both young men and young women with curricula including both Chinese studies and Western studies. Shanxi University is a clear witness to the enduring commitment of the Shanxi Province government to modern education and a resounding testimony to the lasting impact of Timothy Richard's vision upon the reform of higher education in late Ch'ing China.

Notes

1. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 172.
2. *Ibid.*, 172-173.
3. Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform*, 102-106.
4. Richard to Baynes, 13 November 1901.
5. For a more complete record of these events, see Paul A Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Jane Elliott, *Who Died for Civilization? Who Died for Country?: A Revised View of the Boxer War* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987); Victor C. Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Chester Tan, *The Boxer Catastrophe* (New York: , 1955)
6. "In 1900, 137 Protestant missionaries were killed in Shansi by order of the Governor, Yu Hsien." n.a., "Dr. Timothy Richard and Shansi University," *The*

Missionary Review of the World NS 24 (July 1911): 551. For a listing of the names of victims from throughout China, though still incomplete, see "Shanghai Mercury," *The Boxer Rising*, 115-118.

7. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 11 July 1901.

8. The following books record some eyewitness accounts of the violence. E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1970); Robert Coventry Forsyth, *The China Martyrs of 1900* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, n.d.[1904?]); Mrs. K. C. Woodberry, *Through Blood-Stained Shansi* (New York: Alliance Press Company, 1903).

9. After the Allied forces entered and ransacked Beijing, Chinese officials were concerned that they would head to Shansi next because of the reports of violence against missionaries. The Shansi governor who had perpetrated the violence there was transferred. The new governor, Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan (Cen Chunxuan), perhaps in hopes of forestalling the army's entry, quickly telegraphed Richard and requested his assistance in Shansi's indemnity issues "*within four days of the taking of the passes by the Germans.*" Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 122.

10. See Yung Wu, *The Flight of an Empress* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1936). Interestingly, the Empress Dowager and the entire retinue on their way to Sian remained in T'aiyuan some days until October 1st, the very city where more than fifty missionaries and their families were killed. Perhaps it was at this time the governor who had initiated this violence was transferred elsewhere. E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 111.

11. For an English translation of this imperial edict, see Reynolds, *China*, 201-204. For another interesting read in English of a partial translation of this edict, see Robert Hart, "*These from the Land of Sinim*" (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1903), 296-299. (This volume is a bound edition of essays written by Hart for the English readership on China's recent dealings with foreign powers.)

12. Richard seemed to doubt the sincerity of the Chinese government in its reform efforts and in its protection of the foreigners. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 22 January 1903.

13. This dissertation places the end date of this reform period at 1906, as this was the year for the establishment of the national system of public education. Hsü in *The Rise of Modern China*, however, stated this period of reform terminated in 1905. Two of the last three edicts Hsü noted dealt with education: in August 1905, the Civil Service Examination system was abolished; in December 1905, the Ministry of Education was established (410-411), but he made no mention of any edict in 1906 other than the prohibition of opium. The fact is, however, that 1906 was the year that the

system of public schools was indelibly created. Richard's vision became a permanent reality with that founding of the system of public schools.

14. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 19 November 1900, 2.

15. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 299. It seems this is an unstated acknowledgment that the Government was, in fact, acting contrary to its policy concerning people who had been involved with K'ang Yu-wei during the 1895-1898 Reform Movement.

16. Richard was also contacted by at least one other Governor for advice in settling various issues related to the Boxer Uprising. Correspondent, "Missionary Work and Reform in China," *London Times*, 15 November 1901, 6a. In May 1901 Richard was invited first by a leading gentry then later by the governor of Kiangsi (Jiangxi) province to come there to settle missionary problems resulting from the recent outbreak of violence against missionaries. Then, after successful conferring with Peace Plenipotentiaries Li and Ch'ing, Richard was

invited by Li "to draw up an outline of the manner in which religious peace was attained in other parts of the world . . . a monograph on "Religious Liberty" was drawn up in Chinese and circulated amongst the leading viceroys and governors in the various provinces throughout China. "Christian Literature for China" in the One Hundred and Tenth Annual Report, *Missionary Herald* (May 1902): 220.

17. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 6 February 1901, 1.

18. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 3 April 1901. The Roman Catholics, in fact, "had made large demands, calculated to embitter the feeling of the province against them." Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 153. For a discussion of the Shansi indemnity issues pertaining to the Roman Catholics, see E. H. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 165-172. One item of particular interest that was in dispute was the possession of a college (Ling Teh T'ang). The Shansi officials, in particular Shên T'un-ho, were requesting it be relinquished by the Roman Catholic Bishop Hofmann. The Bishop as a final condition of the handover had demanded that no Protestant ever be allowed to enter it. "This was going beyond his province, and it was a distinct blow at Dr. Richard's proposed Shansi University (172)." Shên refused this demand, and the Ling Teh T'ang college was relinquished by the Roman Catholics.

19. *Chinese Recorder* 32 (June 1901): 312. "Tsun Chun Hsuan" (Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan or Cen Chunxuan) to Timothy Richard, BMS MSS, English translation of the first telegram, 23 April 1901.

This new Governor of Shansi, Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan, was no stranger to reform. K'ang Yu-wei, the leader of the Hundred Days Reform, wrote in his diary that he had discussed with Ts'en in 1897 plans "for the organization of a Society of Sagacious Learning (*Sheng-hsueh hui*)." The next year Ts'en was participating in the Reform

Movement requesting the government to abolish certain courts. Lo, *Kang Yu-wei*, 77, 111. When the Court went into exile during the Boxer Uprising and subsequent foreign occupation of Peking, Ts'en met and accompanied it on its travels to Shensi. Perhaps this was his attempt to reenter the good graces of the Empress Dowager to compensate for his earlier reformist activity. Regardless, he was "rewarded" for his loyalty by being given the governorship of the devastated Shansi. Richard did not indicate in his writings anywhere that he had ever had a personal meeting with Ts'en prior to 1902, but such a meeting would have been likely during the Reform Movement. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 307-308.

Shên Tun-ho was also likely known to Richard. He had attended Cambridge University for two years and spoke English. It was he who recommended Governor Ts'en invite the missionaries back to Shansi. During the renegotiations in 1902, it was also Shên who suggested the names of the two colleges in the amalgamated Imperial University of Shansi to both Governor Ts'en and Richard. Shên later enlisted Richard's aid when he attempted to start a Chinese girls school in Shanghai. Moreover, Shên also sought Richard's aid in the creation of the International Red Cross in Shanghai to raise funds for those involved in the Russo-Japanese War being fought in Manchuria. Together they raised from Chinese sources alone more than £55,000 and ten thousand padded suits. See Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 323; Francis H. Nichols, *Through Hidden Shensi* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), 80-82; Mrs. K. C. Woodberry, "Shên Tun-ho," *Through Blood-stained Shansi*, 35-42.

20. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 25 May 1901.

21. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 6 May 1901.

22. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 25 May 1901. On May 29th Richard with Dr. Atwood (American Board) presented a "plan of regulations for the settlement of the Mission troubles in Shansi." This plan had seven separate principles, one which was for the opening of "schools" throughout the province. Though not explicitly stated here, but implied elsewhere in connection with the dispute about the Ling Teh T'ang (see note 18 this chapter), more than likely one of these schools to be opened was a university of Western learning in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan. Edwards, *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 122-124, 160-165.

23. "Notes," *The Chinese Recorder* 32 (December 1901?): 625; n.a., "Memorial University," *The Missionary Review of the World* 25 (April 1902): 316. These articles indicate the refusal of indemnities was at Richard's suggestion. However, another reported it was at the instigation of the China Inland Missions. N.a., "The Shansi Governor's Proclamation," *The Missionary Review of the World* 25 (June 1902): 460-461. While it is important who initiated this gesture, the most important aspect is the impact it had on the minds of the Shansi government leadership. The Governor of Shansi had been sufficiently impressed by CIM's refusal of indemnities that he issued a proclamation read as a eulogy at the memorial service "held in honor of the Protestant

missionaries who died at T'aiyuanfu in 1900." See "A Noteworthy Document [Translation of Proclamation]," *The Missionary Review of the Work* 25 (April 1902): n.p.; n.a., "A Heathen Panegyric on the Shansi Martyrs," *The Missionary Review of the World* 25 (April 1902): 291-292.

24. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 25 May 1901.

25. "Notes," *The Chinese Recorder* 32 (December? 1901): 625.

26. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 299; "New University in China," *N.Y. Times*, April 20, 1902, 4-4; "Note," *The Chinese Recorder* 33 (June 1902): 311.

27. Timothy Richard, "The China Problem From a Missionary Point of View," BMS MSS, Committee Report for Christian Literature Society for China?, May 1905, 3. This report was printed in its entirety in *China, a Quarterly Record of the Christian Literature Society for China* (London: Christian Literature Society for China, June 1905): 189-197.

28. In the *London Times* November 15, 1901, article entitled "Missionary Work and Reform in China," Richard's frequent communications with the Court about the necessity of educational reform were disclosed:

Prompted by the knowledge of the Emperor Kwang Hsu's desire for reform, and supported by the powerful booklet, entitled "Learn," [the English translation is *China's Only Hope* by S. I. Woodbridge] by Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, Mr. Richard telegraphed at regular intervals of a few weeks to officials at Si-ngan-fu [Sian-fu, Xian] where the Court stayed for one year, urging the importance of reform in education (6a). [Emphasis mine.]

Richard indicated in a later article for *The Contemporary Review* that the edict for the establishment of new universities, colleges and schools in China was published on the 12th of September, 1901. It commanded all existing colleges in the empire to be turned into schools and colleges of Western learning. "Each provincial capital was to have a University like the Peking University, whilst the colleges in the prefectures and districts of the various provinces were to be schools and colleges of the second and third class." Timothy Richard, "The New Education in China," *The Contemporary Review* 83 (January 1903): 12.

According to a December 15, 1910, *North China Daily News* article on "Shansi University," Richard's initial agreement in April to found the college of Western learning in T'aiyuan clearly antedated the Empress Dowager's edict.

Seven months after the Agreement for the founding of the University [the Imperial University of Shansi] had been signed and ratified, the Empress Dowager put out her

famous edict revolutionising the entire educational system of the Empire, and this naturally involved the establishment of a college in Shansi similar to that proposed by Dr. Richard.

29. For a contemporaneous look at Chinese education at the time when Richard first began his higher educational reform efforts, see W. A. P. Martin, *The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy, and Letters* (London: Trübner & Company, 1881), 1-85. See also Ping Wen Kuo's 1915 study on the Chinese system of education.

30. The Peace Plenipotentiaries' initial approval occurred earlier, the end of May. However, the final approval for the settlement of the Shansi affairs did not take place until November 8th, still antedating the edicts of November 16th and the later one on the 25th naming Yuan's college as the model. The reason for the delay may have been political or it may have been the result of Li's illness and death on November 7th. See Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 13 November 1901.

31. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 18 November 1901.

32. "Notes," *The Chinese Recorder* 32 (December? 1901): 625. Though Li and Ch'ing had signed the Boxer Protocol September 7, 1901, when Li died November 7, 1901, the Shansi agreement was still unsigned. The Governor-General of Chihli Wang Wen-shao replaced him as Peace Plenipotentiary the next day and signed the Shansi agreement. "[November] 8th The Shansi troubles settled by the establishment of a university, the agreement being settled with Rev. T. Richard, D.D., and stamped by the Shanghai Taot'ai for the Governor of Shansi." "Diary of Events in the Far East," *The Chinese Recorder* 33 (January 1902): 48.

Within the month, the edict establishing Yuan's higher educational institution in Shantung as the model was promulgated. Some authors propose it was this Shantung system with W. M. Hayes as president of the new provincial university that was the model while others propose it was the Chihli system with Tenney as president of its new university that was. Hayes: Bastid, *Educational Reform*, 35; W. M. Hayes, "Foreign Instructors and Intolerance," *Chinese Recorder* 34: May 1903, 234; M. A. H., "Editorial. Watson McMillan Hayes Jubilee 1882-1932," *The China Fundamentalist* 5: 1, July-September 1932, 2. Tenney: Graybill, *Educational Reform in China* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1911), 86; W. A. P. Martin, *The Awakening of China* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907), 213. What is named and what is reality are not always the same; however, both situations do share two important facts—both men served under Yuan Shih-kai as governor perhaps only a few months apart due to Yuan's transfer, and Richard had been friends with both missionaries for more than ten years. (Another noteworthy point to consider is Richard had known Yuan since the Reform Movement 1895-1898). The interplay among this triumvirate of missionaries who were involved in this 1901 educational reform bears further research.

Nevertheless, on April 3, 1902, Richard left Shanghai for T'aiyuan for the formal

opening of the University agreed to the year before, but he ended up having to renegotiate with the Shansi governor for an amalgamated institution due to the precipitous inauguration of another institution by obstructionist Chinese officials. A news brief written within a larger article entitled "Shanse Advancing in Modern Civilization" appeared in the June 19, 1902? *Shanghai Mercury* announcing the University; with the news coming out of T'aiyuan June 6th. However, not until the memorials by the Shansi governor documenting the institution's establishment were printed in the July 3, 1902, issue of the official government newspaper, the *Peking Gazette*, was official sanction and approval given for founding the Imperial University of Shansi.

33. To fulfill the educational edicts from late 1901 onward to establish lower education, the income from lands associated with the local Buddhist and Taoist temples, other than those used in State worship, was to "be used in the aid of the new prefectural and county schools which it was proposed to establish. . . ." The effect of this would be to lessen the control of the people by those who ceased to "represent anything except the ashes of dead superstition." The writer went on to say:

What China needs is Education, but it is not simply the imperfect transfusion of Western Learning into Chinese receptacles, but an enlightenment of the entire intellectual, moral, and spiritual nature of the Chinese race, so as to know not only "Heaven, Earth, and Man," but God, who made them all. n.a. [Timothy Richard?], "The Expropriation of Temple Lands in China," *North China Herald*, April 2, 1903, 629-630.

I believe this discourse, even the vocabulary, reflects an English minister of the Gospel, and the ideas echoed Richard's, so perhaps it was, indeed, written by him.

34. As the Shansi Expedition left Peking, Richard returned to Shanghai as he felt he could not spare the time to go to Shansi. As General Secretary of the S.D.K., he was responsible for the oversight of its various publications. Furthermore, Shanghai's Municipal Council told him they would not proceed with the plans for either the Shanghai Chinese Public School or the Shanghai Public Library until his return. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 25 May 1901.

35. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 24 August 1901.

36. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 August 1901. Most likely Richard had actually presented this request to Li and Ch'ing in Peking several months before as part of the seven settlement principles. But he had official communication from the governor requesting his assistance in establishing this college. Perhaps Richard felt the idea would be more acceptable to the B.M.S. if the request came from the Chinese. It must be remembered that the B.M.S. had blocked Richard's educational schemes on three other occasions. However, anyone who knew Richard would suspect the origin

of such an idea. While Governor Ts'en was forward-thinking, he was by no means a pioneer of reform which such an idea would have made him.

37. *Ibid.* Richard was referring to the Methodist Episcopal church supporting a president of a college without requiring him to sever his connection to the mission society, the American Presbyterians supporting Dr. W. M. Hayes "to try a similar experiment in Chinanfu" in Shantung, and the "American Board did the same formerly in Japan." He felt that such a resolution would keep the "... college from being a merely secular institution."

38. Richard indicated the Shansi Governor was slow to act. He corresponded with Richard by wire "for some time," and later he even sent a special Commissioner to Shanghai to write out the "definite agreement" about the college. This was finally signed by the Shanghai Taot'ai on behalf of the Shansi Governor. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 28 September 1901; Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 13 November 1901.

39. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 13 November 1901.

40. See telegrams sent Timothy Richard to A. G. Jones, BMS MSS, 26 December 1901 and 4 January 1902. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 March 1902.

41. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 March 1902. Before Richard left, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Chinese Recorder* which was printed in its March 1902 issue detailing the need for missionaries to staff the faculties of the newly forming government colleges and universities as well as to translate the much needed textbooks for the students of these institutions.

42. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 26 March 1902.

43. The first Western faculty included Timothy Richard as Joint Chancellor with the Shansi Governor; Moir Duncan, a Scottish missionary with the B.M.S., whom Richard himself appointed to be principal; Eric Nyström, a Swede who was to be professor of Chemistry and who remained with the University throughout the period of Richard's chancellorship until its devolution to Chinese leadership. These went to T'aiyuan in spring 1902 for the opening of the University. Other faculty would follow: Louis R. O. Bevan, Williams, Cartwright, Warrington, and Aust. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 260, 267. A publication published much later indicated that Moir Duncan was appointed principal "at the request of Chinese officials." This could have been possible since Duncan was known to the people of Shansi as he had served as a missionary in the province in the early 1890s before going to the neighboring province of Shensi, and he had been among the first party of missionaries who returned to T'aiyuan July 9, 1901, to settle the Boxer massacre issues. Olive Mary Coats, "Mrs. Moir Duncan—One of the Pioneers," *Scottish Baptist Magazine* 7: January 1967, 2.

However, what could have happened is that this publication confused the spelling of the province, a mistake commonly made. In fact, what happened was the officials of Shensi, the neighboring province where Duncan had served for almost eight years, had invited Duncan to be president of their proposed new university in Sian (Xian); by the time he had received their invitation, however, he had already accepted Richard's invitation to serve as principal of the Western learning college Richard was establishing in Shansi's capital of T'aiyuan. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 10 July 1902, 2.

A few other words about Nyström at this juncture would also be appropriate. After the University's devolution to Chinese control in 1911 and the Revolution in China that soon followed, Nyström returned to Sweden. When the University reopened in 1912, there was no indication that he was rehired perhaps because he was still in Sweden. Some time later, however, he did return to Shansi as there is record that in 1921 he established The Sino-Swedish Scientific Research Association, also known as the Nyström Institute, where he remained as its director until the early 1930s. Gerhard Ludtke and Friedrich Richter, *Minerva: Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1933). See Erik T. Nyström, *The Coal and Mineral Resources of Shansi Province, China* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1912).

44. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 300.

45. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 256,

46. This division of labor within a united effort which eliminated wasteful overlap and competition was a persistent theme in Richard's efforts, particularly evident in his earliest efforts in Shansi and Shantung.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. N.a. [Moir Duncan?], "Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 479. The contract and regulations for the founding of the Imperial University of Shansi were published in the July 3, 1902, *Peking Gazette*, the official publication of the Chinese government.

50. *Ibid.*; Moir Duncan?, "Shansi Imperial University," *The Chinese Recorder* 34 (September 1903): 461. The *Missionary Herald* also printed this article in its September 1903 issue; however, there was a glaring error resulting from several lines being omitted. Contrary to the *Missionary Herald* article, the Western Department did not superintend the management and monies of the Chinese Department.

51. Richard devoted an entire chapter in his autobiography to the University. See Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 299-309.

Richard noted in 1903 that "[i]n eleven out of the eighteen provinces we have records of the opening of colleges for the study of Western subjects." Timothy Richard, "Better Than a Thousand New Missionaries: Missionary Methods in China—Old and New," *The Missionary Review of the World* NS 26 (April 1903): 291.

52. Governor Ts'en attempted "to obtain my [Richard's] promise that a regulation be inserted in the Constitution that Christianity never should be taught in the University. Not for a moment could I agree to such a proposal. . . ." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 300. The morality or ethos underpinning the new educational system was of utmost importance to Richard. And the question had to be answered—was this morality to be based on Confucianism or on Christianity? Richard knew that outcome depended upon the faculty of the new colleges and universities. For this reason, he issued an urgent appeal to the Christian churches in Europe and the United States to supply the needed manpower to fill the faculties of these new institutions, at least until these universities could raise up their own Christian Chinese professors to supply the new institution. Having lived in China more than thirty years, Richard was also aware that the reforms could possibly be only paper reforms. In that case, Richard called for the "missionary societies, singly or unitedly, *open one or two model universities at once*, where the best Chinese will be thoroughly trained to become first-class professors in every branch of knowledge." [Emphasis mine.] Timothy Richard, "The Outlook for Christianity in China," *The Missionary Review of the World* 25 (May 1902): 341-343. He also knew that most government universities in Europe and America were not for the purpose of teaching Christianity but for "giving general knowledge." He worked to assure that the Imperial University of Shansi should be otherwise. Perhaps prompting Richard's letter was the recent resignation of W. M. Haynes as president of the Shantung Provincial College and the dismissal there of six students who were Christians and refused to bow before the tablets commemorating Confucius. Timothy Richard, "Letter to the Editor of the North-China Daily New—The Toleration Question Again," *North China Herald*, March 5, 1903, 431.

The need for highly qualified Christian missionaries to serve in educational and literary endeavors is a recurrent theme of many of Richard's articles beginning as early as the 1880s through to his retirement in 1916. The preponderance of these articles were published in the mid-1890s and between 1901-1906. The reason for the first might be to man the provincial Executive Committees of the S.D.K. he was establishing to diffuse the influence of the ideas printed in S.D.K. publications for the reform of China; a possible explanation for the second period might be a call to fill the faculties of the government schools being founded the result of the Imperial edicts of 1901, 1902, 1904, and 1906 in order to counterbalance the increasing influence of the non-Christian Japanese influence within the developing education system.

53. "Shansi University. A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910, found in BMS MSS.

54. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 301.

55. *Ibid.*

56. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 258.

57. *Ibid.*

58. The Bible was perceived (or presented) as a classic of Western literature. Timothy Richard, *What the Bible is Doing in China: A speech at the Bible Society's Anniversary* in Exeter Hall, May 3, 1905, 7.

59. "The Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 479.

60. The initial agreement with Li and Ch'ing was approved in May 1901; however, the renegotiated agreement resulting in the amalgamated University took place by July 1902. Whether you date from Richard's announcement of the devolution on his visit to T'aiyuan in November 1910 or the final agreement in June 1911, it was still within the ten-year period from the final founding date. An interesting note to this is that the Republican Revolution broke out within four months of the turnover. The University, by necessity, was closed to prevent its destruction. Thanks to the expedient and prudent action of T. L. Kao, a loyal long-term friend of the Richards, the University was protected from destruction by renegade troops. The institution was reopened in 1912 completely under Chinese control.

61. Moir Duncan, "The Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 479; "Shansi University. A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910, in BMS MSS. The preparatory program at Tsinghua (Qinghua) University, founded in 1908 with remitted American Boxer indemnity funds, readied and sent its graduates to American universities, usually in the Northeast. Abe Hiroshi, "Borrowing from Japan: China's First Modern Educational System," in *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer* by Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, eds. (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1987), 73. Nevertheless, the Imperial University of Shansi antedated this preparatory program for overseas study by at least six years.

62. Moir Duncan, "The Imperial University, Shansi," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 105. This is another evidence that Richard was interested in raising up an indigenous faculty. Besides appropriate textbooks, Richard knew all too well that China's greatest need in the modern system of higher education was manpower. This three year preparatory program at the Imperial University of Shansi would provide the necessary training for teachers at the lower levels. Perhaps this was the root of the government normal school movement in China.

63. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 261. Which engineering offered depended upon which was represented in the faculty. Because of Shansi's extensive coal fields, the emphasis was on mining engineering.

64. Moir Duncan, "The Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 479.

"The final examination in these subjects took place in Peking, when those who succeeded were awarded the degree of Doctor (Chin-sze)." Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 261-262.

65. Soothill in his biography of Richard indicated that in the beginning no students understood English nor were any of the professors, other than Duncan, proficient in Chinese. The interpreters engaged were from the coast and had no knowledge of the subjects and could not speak the local dialects. However, they were able to translate the lectures "of the Western professors into Mandarin, which was generally understood, until such time as the professors attained fluency in speaking Chinese or the students ease in understanding English" (261). *Ibid.*; "Editorial comment," *Chinese Recorder* 33 (August 1902): 427.

66. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 302; "Shansi University," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910, in BMS MSS.

67. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 302.

The suspension for several years then demise of the Civil Service Examinations by imperial edict in 1905 mandated that another selection process be devised. "[T]he national adoption of Western methods of education, have necessitated some modification in the rules for admission, and now candidates are received from Chinese High Schools, subject to their passing the requisite entrance examination." n.a., "Historical Summary," *Calendar of the Imperial University of Shansi (Western Department)*, 6th ed., 1908, 4-5.

68. Moir Duncan, "The Shansi Imperial University," 479.

69. E. R. Lyman, "Psychological," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 112.

70. n.a. [Moir Duncan?], "Shansi Imperial University," 461; Moir Duncan, "The Imperial University, Shansi," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 104.

71. Moir Duncan, "The Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 479.

72. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 301.

73. Myron H. Peck, "Description of Buildings," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 105-106.
74. *Ibid.*, 108.
75. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 260.
76. Peck, "Description of Buildings," 110.
77. *Ibid.* The railroad had come to T'aiyuan by the time the University was devolved to provincial authorities.
78. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 303.
79. Rent for housing the translation department was paid to the S.D.K. See Chapter IV, n121. This translation department served the University for six years, but was eventually closed because of a lack of funds. Nevertheless, during that six years at least eighteen different titles were translated for use at the University. It is also interesting to note that en route to Shanghai after founding the University Richard visited Yuan Shi-k'ai, who was the new Viceroy of Chihli. While there Richard articulated his intention "to devote ten thousand taels per annum of the Shansi University funds towards the preparation of textbooks." Yuan thought it a sound idea and agreed to match that amount as well as solicit a similar amount from the new Minister of Education in Peking, Chang Pao-hsi. He also expressed confidence that the Governors of Shantung and Honan (Henan) would do likewise. These funds never materialized. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 303-304.
80. n.a.[John Darroch?], "Translation Department," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 119; see ad in *Chinese Recorder* 38 (September 1907). See Appendix B this study for a list of known titles of books translated by the Translation Bureau of the Imperial University of Shansi.
81. Moir Duncan, "The Shansi Imperial University," *Missionary Herald* ? (September 1903): 478-479.
82. Timothy Richard to Baynes, BMS MSS, 22 January 1903.
As cited elsewhere, similar articles describing the University were published in the September 1903 issues of London's *Missionary Herald* (478-479) and Shanghai's *The Chinese Recorder* (460-462). The 1904-1905 *East of Asia Magazine* included a series of articles on the Imperial University of Shansi. All three articles included a list of officers and staff which, in fact, included six resident foreign professors. The following combines the corrected information from the three articles. Chancellors: H.E. Governor of Shansi and Rev. Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D. Directors: Chi King-tao and Ku Ju-yung. Principal: Moir Duncan, M.A. Professors: Law, L.R.O.

Bevan, M.A. (Melbourne), LL.B. (Cambridge), Barrister-at-Law, Gray's Inn, London; Science, E. T. Nyström, C.E., B.Sc. (Stockholm) and R. L. Lyman, B.A. (Stanford University, U.S.A.); Language, R. W. Swallow, B.Sc. (Victoria University, Manchester); Engineering, M. H. Peck, B.Sc. (California University, U.S.A.). Assistant Professors: Science, T. H. Li, B.A. (Tengchow College, Shantung) and T. Y. Yeh, B.A. (Brest Naval College, France); Engineering, J. C. Su (Railway College, Shanghai Kuan); Language, Mr. Chou, B.A. (Queen's College, Hong Kong) and Mr. Sung (T'ientsin University); Mathematics, O. H. Yu, B.A. (Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai); Medicine, W. T. Ni, M.D. (Naval Medical College, T'ientsin). The names of the language assistant professors, Mr. Chou and Mr. Sung, are not included in the 1904-1905 *East of Asia Magazine* listing; however, two new names were listed as Assistant Professors: S. L. Suang, B.A., Commercial School, Canton, and T'ientsin University, and C. C. Chang, B.A., Naval College, Nanking. Other support staff were also listed in the 1904-1905 listing: Secretary, Mr. He (Nanking); Librarian, Mr. Sung (T'ientsin University); Cashier, Mr. Kao (T'aiyuanfu); Usher, Mr. Ma; Official Attendant, Mr. Li.

83. The University was referred to as "one of the leading modern universities in China." L. R. O. Bevan, "The Imperial University at Taiyuenfu (sic), Shansi," *East of Asia Magazine* 3 (1904-1905): 100. Richard credits Moir Duncan, the first principal of the Imperial University of Shansi, for "much of the success of the University." See E. Morgan, "In Memoriam-- Rev. M. B. Duncan, M.A, LL.D.," *Chinese Recorder* 37 (October 1906): 558-561. Soon after his untimely death in 1906, the Chinese government "conferred posthumous honours on him by raising his status to the first rank red button [Soothill claims it was second rank]." Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 306. On a visit with his granddaughter in 1992, this researcher saw the red button that had been awarded to Duncan. For a unique look at Moir Duncan, see the book published by his late wife and granddaughter for limited circulation. Jessie Duncan and Doreen Raymer, *Lives Lived of Moir and Jessie Duncan* (Toronto, Canada: WindyRidge Books, 2000).

Professor Louis Bevan was made acting principal until the Rev. William Soothill was appointed principal in 1907. Soothill served in that capacity through the University's devolution to the provincial authorities a few months prior to the beginning of the 1911 Revolution. He later went to England and became a professor at Oxford University. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 305-306; Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 266-268.

84. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 306; Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 262.

85. Soothill, *Timothy Richard of China*, 262.

86. *Ibid.*

87. "Editorial Comment—Congratulations to Dr. Moir Duncan," *Chinese Recorder* 37 (May 1906): 281.

88. Nyström, *Coal and Mineral Resources*, 83-85.

89. This researcher has raised questions about the temporal sequence of events as it relates to the the Shansi, Chihli, and Shantung Universities. An "editorial comment" in August 1902 *Chinese Recorder* disclosed:

This proposal was made in June 1901, and the two Chinese Plenipotentiaries [Li and Ch'ing] approved it.* * * Two months after this, an Edict was issued for establishing a university in each of the eighteen provinces. In the autumn the young and progressive governor of Shantung, Yuen Shih-k'ai (sic), promptly opened the Shantung University, asking Dr. Hayes to be Principal. [Richard and Hayes had worked together in various capacities on the EAC since 1891.] After being promoted to be the Viceroy of Chihli, Yuen (sic) opened a university in that province in May of this year with Dr. Tenney as Principal. [Richard and Tenney had been close friends since Richard was in T'ientsin during the years 1888-1891.] The University of Shansi, though first conceived, was, owing to unavoidable delays, only opened in June [1902] with Rev. Moir Duncan, M.A., as Principal. It begins with a larger foreign staff of professors and better equipment of apparatus than any of the others (427).

The May 7, 1901, *London Times* gives a somewhat different picture. It has two paragraphs under the "China" headline which seem to indicate that Yuan was, in fact, in the process of establishing two colleges in Shantung, one military and the other scientific, at the time when Richard had merely been "telegraphed" by the new Governor of Shansi (5d).

90. Timothy Richard, "The New Education in China," *The Contemporary Review* 53 (January 1903): 13.

91. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, 411; Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 305; Abe, "Borrowing from Japan," 57-80. According to Soothill, as many as 30,000 went to Japan for study (263-264). One might question why the Japanese model? Perhaps in a simplistic response, this researcher would reply with the four P's—propaganda, proximity, proficiency, and pride. These will be addressed further in Chapter VII of this study.

92. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 306.

93. Comparing Duncan's 1904 article with a 1908 faculty listing shows the faculty changes. Attrition of the foreign faculty included Lyman, Swallow, and Peck; that of the Chinese faculty included Directors Chi and Ku and Assistant Professors Su, Ni, and

Suang. Duncan, "The Imperial University, Shansi," 104; n.a., "Faculty and Staff," *Calendar of the Imperial University of Shansi (Western Department)*, 6th ed., 1908, 2-3.

94. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 306-307.

95. In the almost ten years Richard had been Joint Chancellor with the Governor of Shansi, he had served with at least five different governors: Ts'en Ch'un-hsüan, Chao Erh-hsun (Zhao Erxun), En ?, Ting Pao-ch'uan (Ding Baochuan), Pao Fen. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 309-310.

96. "Shansi University: A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910, in BMS MSS.

97. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 307.

98. *Ibid.* If dating from the original approval by Li and Prince Ch'ing, the date would be in May 1911; if dating from the official approval of the contract as stamped by the Shanghai Taot'ai, it would be November 1911; if dating from the appearance of the imperial notice of the renegotiated plan, the date would have been in July 1912.

99. "Shansi University. A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily New*, December 15, 1910; n.a., "Dr. Timothy Richard and Shansi University," *The Missionary Review of the World* NS 24 (July 1911): 551. In his biography of Richard, Soothill stated that he had expected that after the handover the Governor would appoint Bevan to head the University and would retain the foreign faculty. Soothill in his biography of Richard, however, alluded to "opposing forces in Peking" and "jealousy of the university and its success" which had produced "a grudging spirit" in Peking though not in Shansi. He indicated, however, that the "success of the university was unrivaled in the country (267-268)."

100. Richard, *Forty-five Years*, 307.

101. Soothill listed the foreign teachers as himself, Bevan, Nystrom, Williams, Cartwright, Warrington, and Aust (267). I am unable to determine conclusively the eighth professor, but it may be Richard who included himself in the count.

102. In later days, Shansi became known as the "Model Province," one of the most progressive parts of China. The University played a key role in this through its provision of teachers educated in Western learning to schools throughout the province. "Had there been no Timothy Richard such would not have been the case," says Professor Soothill as reported in Ernest A. Payne, "In Shansi and Shensi," *Northern Messenger Sunday School Paper*, Montreal, 1933?. When Dr. Paul Monroe reported on China's education after he visited there in 1922, Shansi University was included in a listing of "Chinese Government Institutions of Collegiate Grade Under the Ministry of

Education." Five of the institutions had more than 600 students. Three of these institutions listed were in Peking; the other was Southeastern University in Nanking under the presidency of Kuo Ping-wen. Shansi University had 619 students with an annual budget listed as 100,000 (1912, monetary unit not designated). Paul Monroe, *A Report on Education in Education* (New York: The Institute of International Education, 1922), 34.

103. "Shansi University: A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910.

104. An interesting appraisal of the University at a time just before its handover is available in Lord William Gascoyne-Cecil's *Changing China* (London: James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1910), 274-276. He and his wife had gone to China at the behest of the missionary China Emergency Committee to explore the feasibility of the United Universities Scheme, a British scheme whereby missionary societies would unite to found universities of Western learning. This was something Richard had requested the B.M.S. to undertake coordination of in 1885.

While this handover of the University was Richard's final act in the reform of higher education in China, his fertile mind continued to explore other ways to cultivate and train the minds of "the four thousand expectant officials." A scheme put forth in 1910, supposedly in operation through the S.D.K. on a small scale for twenty years, was "a systematic home study of the great universal problems." Timothy Richard, "Turning Point in Human History," *Baptist Times & Freeman*, BMS MSS, October 14, 1910. This same article was reprinted in "Letters to the *Outlook*," *The Outlook* 97 (January 7, 1911): 45-46 under the same title. Was this a reappearance of the Course of Study that Richard had hoped to get accepted by the Chinese government on three other occasions, the first during the 1890s?

105. "Shansi University: A Tribute to Dr. Timothy Richard," *North China Daily News*, December 15, 1910, in BMS MSS.

106. Delia Davin, "Imperialism and the Diffusion of Liberal Thought: British Influences on Chinese Education," in Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, eds., *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1987), 44.

CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION

Richard's early life in a Non-Conformist home where there was open discussion of current and religious affairs helped him develop an openness to the free exchange of new ideas. He was the last of nine children and a boy. He likely received special attention by his mother. He learned early how to negotiate successfully to get what he wanted. He witnessed his father on occasions mediating to make peace between members of the community. He was taught the value of education perhaps through his especially close relationship with his mother who must have instilled in him early a desire for learning and an ambition to be something other than a farmer or tradesman like his father. Richard was also imbued with her pleasant and charming nature. Most importantly, he witnessed the genuine nature of his parents' Christian faith. Even so, it was not until his early teens that he came to his own faith in Jesus Christ and was baptized. By the time he was sixteen, he had received a "call" from God to foreign missionary service.

His earliest education began in an Non-Conformist environment, and it seems that he gained the opportunity to go to the next level by intra-familial bargaining and sacrifice. He also had an independent spirit as he sought to pay for his own education by his own labor and efforts. He excelled at all levels of his education, finally, graduating from a theological seminary.

Even at a young age while a student, Richard was given responsibility within the classroom. He had the qualities of a born leader which could inspire and encourage others to follow in his steps, and that served him well once he became a schoolmaster himself. His style of leadership was more of a mentor as he led by example, but also he did not hesitate to invest himself and his energies in his charges for their betterment.

All his schooling took place in his homeland of Wales, which had been dominated by the English since the 13th century. There he directly experienced the prejudice and oppression of the English against the Welsh. He knew what it was to speak one language in the home but forced to speak another within the educational environment. He also saw the modernizing effects of the scientific Industrial Revolution on his homeland, so he quickly learned the importance of practicality in education. It was for this reason that he joined in the reform movement in his seminary to bring about study of the "living" languages and histories of existing civilizations rather than to focus on the dead subjects of the Greek and Roman languages and literatures in the classical curriculum.

Richard went to China with the same passion and zeal as did many other young men and women of his time whose hearts were set ablaze "to save the heathens." In 1870 when he arrived in China, however, he was not received warmly but by a few throwing with rocks and mud. Most Chinese, however, were not even interested in what he was there to share. For several years, he was the sole representative of the Baptist Missionary Society in Shantung Province, so he learned quickly to rely on his own judgement. Because of his inquisitive mind, however, Richard developed a

receptivity and sensitivity to the indigenous religions during those early years and sought to learn how to use their best doctrines as a way to lead those devotees to belief in Christianity. Within five years, then, he had changed his approach from the traditional evangelistic methods of street and chapel preaching to "seeking the worthy" which brought him into more frequent contact with the educated and religious Chinese. The educated included the Chinese officials who were ascending the ladder of promotion, power, and prosperity by their success at various stages of the civil service examination system which was solely based on the Confucian literature; the religious were the believers in the religions of Islam, Buddhism, Taoism, or any of the sects indigenous to the region. For these officials, the various forms of their written literatures did not lend themselves to creativity nor to an openness to new ideas and methods for solving problems to benefit the people whom they administered. This rigid conservatism became especially clear to Richard during China's great famine of 1876-1879.

As one of the primary Protestant missionaries involved in famine relief first in Shantung then in Shansi Province, Richard had many opportunities to have direct contact with Chinese officials. In many of these encounters, his diplomacy and peacemaking skills were supremely tested. During his famine relief efforts, Richard probably redirected his frustration with the conservative rigidity of the Chinese officials into developing and proposing to them various remedies for the prevention of future famines. It was his famine relief experiences that caused him to begin to think that the officials needed an additional sort of education, namely learning based on the Western

physical and social sciences and mathematics. It is no wonder that he was ignited with hope as Chang Chih-tung revealed a crack in his conservative anti-foreign armor when he formally appealed to Richard twice for assistance in Shansi. During that same period, Richard was also giving lectures to the scholars and officials in Shansi to open up their minds to new ideas and ways. Richard sensed their increasing receptivity to this new information. Their erudition and civility as well as the intellectual stimulation from these various encounters probably seemed like a breath of fresh air to Richard. His missionary community contained many without higher education who were steeped in the conservative fundamentalistic dogmatism of Taylor's China Inland Missions. His contacts with Chinese officials continued to expand as even more officials began to seek him out. This could only have been a very heady experience for a man of his background and age. This situation likely caused concern, perhaps even jealousy, among some of his missionary colleagues. Nevertheless, Richard seemed to realize early the critical role that missionaries could, and he hoped would, play in the modernization of China. Since most of the missionaries were from the West, Richard knew they were the only repositories of modern Western knowledge to the Chinese since these officials had few other sources of information about the West.

For these scholars and officials, the written word was important, even almost sacred. Each religious group had its own literature to preserve and propagate its own beliefs. Richard became intimately familiar with the literature of Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, as well as Jesuit doctrine. And he also became informed on various secret societies and Islam. Richard also learned early in his work in China that those

who were literate were usually the "devout seekers of truth" and as such could be moved intellectually. He sought to use the printed word to try to reach them. From these earliest efforts to "seek the worthy," he began to translate into Chinese material that could impact, or at least appeal to, the ethical nature of the literate Chinese. Much of this early translation work focused on the impact of Christian faith on the individual life. By the time Richard was settled in Shansi working among the scholars and officials, this became a well-defined approach in which both he and his wife Mary were engaged, and for the duration they effectively served as a literary/translation team. While he had begun his literary efforts earlier in Shantung, once he developed extensive relationships with the scholars in Shansi, this approach became a necessity. It could not be a simplistic direct presentation of the Christian beliefs but the indirect presentation of devout lives. For this reason, the writings of Richard's first ten years were more concerned with biographies or the translations of biographies.

While Richard never lost sight of the importance of the individual's spiritual salvation, by 1884 his vision for his work in China expanded to include the "salvation" of all China through the agency of modern Western education. This enlarged view resulted from Richard's experiences during the 1876-1879 famine. Even during his earlier famine relief in Shantung, he had included Western learning in a two-track system in the famine orphan schools that he established there: one track for the training in Western learning of those he felt would become future leaders; the second for training the other youths in making a livelihood in the trades.

When Richard and his family went home on furlough in 1885, he sought to get the Baptist Missionary Society to coordinate a united effort among the British mission societies to establish colleges of Western learning in all eighteen Chinese provinces as a means of training native evangelists and future leaders. He encouraged them to begin with the college in Shansi's capital and use it as a model for the others. Their leadership in this effort, however, never materialized. In early 1887 Richard returned to T'aiyuan deeply disappointed in his home mission society and unaware of a brewing storm in the missionary community in T'aiyuan. Within four months, Richard encountered another wall of resistance, but this time active opposition, by some of the missionaries in T'aiyuan. Throughout the next few years of opposition and misunderstanding, Richard never lost his vision that education could be a practical way of reaching China for Christianity. But it became clear to him that the educational changes would need to be brought through the Chinese themselves.

Richard believed that if exposed to Western learning, particularly in the sciences, the Chinese scholars and officials would observe certain principles in action. These Richard described as being the "laws of God" in operation. He believed if these same scholars and officials could be led to this understanding then they could see, as a matter of course, that the first cause or prime mover in these principles is God. Those who would come to this rational understanding of God could then harness the forces of Western science and technology for the improved health and well-being of the masses. This jump from observation to belief seemed quite rational to Richard, but he failed to

take into consideration the materialism that pervaded Chinese philosophy and religion. Many scholars, however, were unable to make this Kierkegaardian "leap of faith." They had always had the observable forces of nature or the human form of the Emperor. The Chinese did not deal well with an invisible benevolent supernatural but understood well the evident malevolent forces of nature which had to be appeased or surrendered to as fate. Many of Richard's colleagues considered his approach to be unorthodox even bordering on heresy. As a result this controversy with his missionary colleagues in Shansi, to maintain peace Richard finally left missionary work in the province to travel north to Peking and T'ientsin where he endured an agonizing three years of soul-searching.

Never content with being idle, however, Richard wrote articles dealing with the benefits of modern education to modern nations, the multi-faceted benefits of Christianity, and the persecution of Christians in China. He started a small school in his home. He seized every opportunity to cultivate relationships with high government officials. As his contacts with officials increased, his writings became more geopolitical in nature emphasizing the need for various reforms and education of government leaders for the purpose of the economic development of China. Richard continued to advocate that education in Western learning was the key issue in this process.

Through one such relationship with a high government official during this time of "exile" in North China, Richard was offered the editorship of the *Shih Pao* [The

Times], a reformist Chinese newspaper in Tientsin. From this "pulpit," he proclaimed loudly and frequently the "good news" of the many positive aspects of the modern West and its learning. He was not seeking to make China a reflection of the West. He only sought to awaken the Chinese officials from their slumber that they might accept the need for Western learning and to make certain reforms which included, among other things, the establishment of a system of government-supported colleges of Western learning for the training of the future leaders of China. With this kind of knowledge, Richard believed the Chinese leaders could then move with ease on the stage of international diplomacy as well as greatly relieve the suffering of their own people. To awaken them, he placed facts and figures about China within a universe of similar information for various other nations to illustrate not only China's deficiencies but also its great potentials. Richard used charts and diagrams to contrast different points in these comparisons. In this visual representation of data, Richard not only introduced a new form of journalism to the reading public of China but by them provided demonstrations of the emerging sciences of sociology and comparative education. With the exception of Allen, perhaps no other missionary or journalist had so broad a vision nor so great an influence as did Richard through such writings. He consistently disseminated his vision of the benefits that would accrue to China with the establishment of a system of higher education with Western learning accreted to its existing curriculum of Confucian studies.

His involvement with the *Shih Pao* made him even more resolute to show to the Chinese officials the benefits of Christian civilization and education reform. This

would be no easy task for Richard since a few years earlier, China had ended its thirteen year-long T' aiping Rebellion that was quasi-Christian in nature. The Chinese officials were in no mood to be exposed once again to this Christian teaching. Having had the gunboats of the West force its doors open, China had become highly suspicious of the motives of the missionaries from the West. Many Chinese officials did realize, however, China's need for some aspects of Western learning not for the improvement of the general welfare of the people but to maintain a defensive posture against foreign encroachment. Undaunted, Richard accepted the challenge to disseminate a vision for reform for China, particularly in higher education, within this resistive environment of Chinese official conservatism that had become much like the grand and immovable Great Wall.

Richard believed that the only way this resistance could be overcome was by permeating the officials' thinking with the necessity for Western learning. He was fully aware that he would not bring about educational reform singlehandedly or in a vacuum. His task was to provide the vision, inspiration, and direction that would finally overcome the inertia. Therefore, Richard supplied the never-ending drops of modern ideas that, in time, wore away the stony resistance the Chinese officials held towards these ideas and educational reform. Richard knew, as did some Chinese officials, that the learning in China had no utility other than the selection of members of the Chinese bureaucracy or officialdom, and while China lived in glorious isolation, this selection was sufficient and necessary. With the encroachment of the West in the mid-nineteenth century, this was no longer a sufficient purpose. Modern Western learning was

utilitarian. By the time China finally promulgated its system of modern higher education, first during the abortive Hundred Days Reform in 1898 then effectually in 1901, and abolished its ancient examination system, neighboring Japan had already had such a system for more than thirty years.

Even though Japan challenged Chinese sovereignty first in 1894 then again in 1904, China turned East to its former vassal state of "dwarfs" to find their secret of prosperity and progress. Japan's victory against China in 1895 was a rude awakening for China, almost like the rebellious child slapping its benevolent mother. Suddenly, China had to contend with the fact that Japan was not weak but had become an international power with which China was going to have to contend. An exclamation point was put to this understanding when Japan and Russia engaged in warfare on Chinese soil with Japan the victor and China the slack, spiritless spectator and helpless victim. China indeed woke up!

The reasons why China turned to Japan are complex and understandable. The first of the reasons would be pride. Both China and Japan had imperial systems, so the reform efforts of both sought to reinforce the existing power structure. Moreover, but most importantly, China did not want to submit itself to the tutelage of the West. It was far easier and less humiliating for China to receive, how be it indirectly, from one of its Asian neighbors. Sadly, the missionaries provided yet another reason for China to turn to Japan. This was because of the fragmentation and competitiveness within the missionary community. Specifically, there seemed to be undeclared competition between the American missionary educators and British educationalists, between

denominations, mission methodologies, and emphases. Most probably this heterogeneity became confusing to the Chinese who were accustomed to a homogeneous, if not monolithic, society. Their confusion about education was probably worsened when they heard the Caucasian missionaries, though of the same race but not singular in their schooling, talk about their various educational systems each with its own focus, organization, curriculum, and examining. The vocabulary used to describe these various educational systems also was not equivalent, so it had to be clarified whether one was discussing an issue in the light of the American system of schooling or the British/Continental systems. For example, grammar schools in America were generally different from the grammar schools in England, depending on the historical era of the term's use. In fact, the goal of education in the various countries also was not even the same. American education schooled for educated citizenry; British education made gentlemen; German schooling made specialists. How bewildering these inconsistencies and contradictions about education must have been for the Chinese who for hundreds of years had been singular in curriculum and goal! What made it worse was the Western missionaries seemed to expect the Chinese to accept their advice to reform and include Western learning as the better way. But which path and whose advice should be followed?

China's proximity enabled Japan to take advantage of this confusion through its own subtle educational imperialism of sending more than 500 teachers to China, which was one of China's greatest needs in the early years of its modern system of higher education, and by Japan receiving in its educational institutions thousands of Chinese

students. By 1906 Japan even managed to monopolize the newspaper and school textbook publication in China. These means helped not only to inform but to propagandize the Chinese to believe that the Japanese were their benefactors. Moreover, even certain Chinese officials wrote to influence their people to accept such a view of Japan. Another issue leading China to look to Japan was related to capital outlay. It was far less expensive to send students to Japan to be educated, to hire Japanese teachers, and to purchase Japanese translations than to pay Westerners their high prices. And money was a real issue after the turn of the century since China was being strangled by having to pay large indemnities because of the Boxer Uprising damages and deaths. Therefore, by 1906 the die was cast for China finally to turn from its missionary "mentors" to accept the Japanese model as the educational system to be implemented at this first stage. Japan, then, assumed a position of preeminence in China until its ultimate removal at the end of World War II.

Because of the Japanese control over various literary avenues, it is quite understandable why the Chinese did not choose the medium of English through which to gain its information or to advance its knowledge. While the Chinese were industrious even persevering, they would rather not fill their educational needs through the Western world with whom they felt no kinship. And, having little experience with how to strenuously exert themselves in a cerebrally creative fashion, they also chose the path of expedience and accepted Japan's translations and early instruction since they shared a very similar written language and heritage. This enabled the Chinese students to have quicker access to translations of Western novels and various other writings.

Despite these developments, Richard finally saw the fulfillment in 1901 of his long-standing vision for higher education both in the founding of the college of Western learning in Shansi and in the imperial edicts issued for the establishing of the system of higher education with the accretion of Western learning to its Confucian literature-based curriculum. The vision for the reform of higher education in China which Richard had disseminated for more than twenty years through his writings and his personal relationships with Chinese and foreigners alike was finally fulfilled. Of course, Richard did not effect this reform of higher education single-handedly. The founding of this system of institutions was the culmination of years of effort by both foreigners and Chinese. Though many Chinese officials since the mid-nineteenth century had presented recommendations for various changes to the examination system, it was Richard who perseveringly presented a consistent vision of China's need for educational reform in a system of higher education institutions which utilized a curriculum of Western learning accreted to the Confucian studies. And it was Richard's ultimate establishment of the Imperial University of Shansi, officially opened in 1902, that pressed the Chinese government into action.

For Richard, education was not for national prosperity alone but ultimately for international peace rooted in Christianity. After seeing his educational vision come to fruition in China, it is not surprising that the next torch Richard lifted high to light the way for China and all of mankind was on the international level—an effort seeking to bring forth a federation of nations for universal peace.

Why was he so "successful" in his efforts in China? He was optimistic and positive, even charming in his personality. Some even said you would be a better

person for having spent time with him. He had energy, unflagging energy and perseverance—he never gave up. He participated in many activities with one stated goal in mind—to bring forth as best as possible the Kingdom of Heaven on earth according to the modern definition. He was committed to his vision, his principles, his goal. He never let anything defeat him. He was tolerant and beloved for his winsomeness. This did not mean that he condoned evil giving it tacit approval, but he was willing to see the best in every person, situation, or belief. He was willing to allow other true believers or the devout their beliefs. In his own writings and others' accounts of him, he is pictured as slow to speak his opinion but bold and eloquent in his proclamation of the Truth as he knew it. The Truth he knew was that faith in Jesus as propagated in Christianity was the only way to make good citizens and fully benefit the people of the great nation of China. He constantly whittled away at China's resistance to its essential need for educational reform until it finally gave way. He was realistic—he knew that change would be slow to come to China taking as many as 20 to 30 years, but in the end change would come. The Chinese officials needed to be made aware of the educational needs. Once made aware, Richard was convinced they would proceed expeditiously to make the necessary educational reforms. And these reforms came!

These reforms, however, did not then nor now come easily for China. At that time, the civil service examination system with the Confucian classics had served as the basis for selecting government officials since the 7th century. There was no systematic approach to schooling, but there was a systematic approach to the examining for officials. Since power and financial reward were ultimately tied to success on these

examinations and this success required years of rote learning of the Confucian literature, no man who had successfully climbed the tortuous examination ladder wanted to allow another educational system to replace or supplant what he had endured. Fear for the loss of power, prestige, status, money, and position as well as many officials being too old to start anew in a very different system requiring different cognitive skills engendered great resistance to educational reform that Richard spent many years in literary efforts to overcome.

The Boxer Uprising, however, was the cataclysmic event that “unfroze” the existing status quo. And as happened with the abortive Hundred Days Reform, so it was with the Boxer Uprising; with both there was a counter-reaction but in different directions. With the former, there was a backlash of conservatism; with the latter, there was a tidal wave of reform.

Interestingly, the Boxer Uprising followed quickly on the heels of the Hundred Days Reform. Was the Boxer Uprising “God’s judgment” on China for aborting the Hundred Days Reform? Some might argue so; but surely not, or why were so many foreign missionaries and native Christians killed? Was it a diversionary technique to shift the attention of the officials, particularly the reform faction, off the actions of the Empress Dowager against reform? Or was it a government spinning out of control? Or was this the Empress Dowager’s very shrewd maneuver to accomplish two things: to flush out the conservative sympathizers and hardliners within her Court to get rid of them so that reform might later proceed unhindered; or maybe it was simply her obvious attempt to eradicate the “obnoxious” influence of Christianity in the Court and from all corners of China. The fact is that there was a reaction against the reforms in

1898, and within one year the Boxers became activated. Within two years, the Boxer Uprising had been fought, quelled, and for the most part settled. From my perspective as well as Richard's, it could be argued that it was God's sovereign hand moving in history to bring about the circumstances that would usher in the desperately needed changes in China, particularly in education.

When Richard was called in by the Chinese Peace Plenipotentiaries to settle the Boxer indemnity issues in Shansi, they seemed to be at an impasse. The Chinese government needed to redeem itself in the eyes of the international community from the dishonor of the massacre of the innocent missionaries, but the Protestant mission societies that lost missionaries in Shansi refused money for the loss of these lives. Richard proposed that Shansi Province be fined a total of 500,000 taels payable in ten annual installments. These funds would be used to found in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan a college of Western learning in order to remove the "superstition and ignorance" that caused the Boxer Uprising in the first place. Richard's solomonic solution was approved by the Peace Plenipotentiaries Li and Ch'ing the end of May 1901. Because of delays and the necessity of renegotiating the agreement, notice of the final imperial approval for the establishment of the Imperial University of Shansi did not appear in the *Peking Gazette* until July 3, 1902. With the provincial governor, Richard became its joint chancellor, but he had sole responsibility of the administration of the funds, curriculum, and personnel of the Western Department for a period of no more than ten years.

Within three months after the initial approval, similar education reforms were promulgated for all of China through the imperial edicts in September and November

1901. These earliest edicts cascaded into later edicts which in 1905 abolished the ancient civil service examination system and established the Ministry of Education finally culminating in a 1906 edict that established the government-supported system of education throughout all of China. But it was the initial agreement to found the college of Western learning in T'aiyuan that heralded and pressed the government to make these changes.

Historical dissertations are difficult to write, it goes without saying. One cannot see history, nor can one calculate the sum of history. But what we live today is the fruit of history, the result of all our yesterdays. I have seen little evidence to suggest that the historians who have researched the educational reforms of late Ch'ing China have ever questioned why the Imperial University of Shansi was the fourth modern government university and the first to be founded in the twentieth century. This is remarkable since every other modern university founded was either in Peking or near water; the Imperial University of Shansi is located in the arid remote loess plateau hinterlands of China. Also, few historians have ever questioned the source of information the Chinese reformers had about the great European sovereigns or other historical or political figures from Europe, including Martin Luther. Because China borrowed translations from Japan and there were some Chinese, such as Wang T'ao (Wang Tao), doing translations, perhaps it was assumed that this information came through them. This research found that this information came primarily from the writings of Young J. Allen and Timothy Richard. Richard frequently used biographies of great Westerns, particularly the sovereigns and reformers, to inspire the Chinese officials (and, perhaps, the Chinese emperor too) to emulate them in their Christian

beliefs and/or their educational and institutional reforms. This research bore out that the scholars' desire to explore this literature was kindled through their personal encounters with Richard and his writings. He used every possible means at his disposal to cause the Chinese officials to perceive China's need to reform.

In dealing with a man of his [Richard's] calibre there are of course many imponderables which cannot be tabulated or measured, but the seeds sown have since borne good fruit. He builded better than he knew, and was one of the founders of the new order now coming into being in China. His mind gave out flashes of intuition and often lit a flame in other minds.¹

Latourette in his *History of Christian Missions in China* described Richard as "one of the greatest missionaries whom any branch of the Church, whether Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, or Protestant, has sent to China" (378). Garnier wrote

Timothy Richard was the prophet, the writer of books for officials and scholars, the statesmanlike apostle of a social and international Order based on obedience to the laws of God, the "Nation Builder" of Modern China.²

Then, one must ask, how could the name *Li-t'i-mo-t'ai* or this man Timothy Richard go from being "known in every household" in China in 1906, to becoming an anathema in 1951, finally being virtually unknown (except to a few) by 2001? Time, of course, is one culprit. Another is the shifting winds of politics. Still another is the liberal historians of the West who seemed unable to acknowledge that the significant contributions the missionaries made in their host countries were made with altruistic motives without the taint of cultural imperialism. This dissertation is a small attempt to rectify and rehabilitate the record for one man—Timothy Richard.

Who then was Timothy Richard? He was a schoolmaster in Wales who came to China in 1870 as a simple Baptist missionary. He began his early educational efforts in

China by teaching the brightest famine orphans so that they might later become informed leaders. He gave scientific demonstrations, and he lectured scholars and officials in Shansi Province about Western learning in the form of science, geography, world history, and current events in order that modern scientific knowledge might replace their "ignorance and superstition" enabling them to further enrich their people. As early as 1880, he began to articulate his vision for the founding of higher education institutions in provincial capitals that would teach scholars this Western learning. Once placed at the helm of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese in 1891, Richard wielded his pen as a sword paring away official resistance to both Western learning and his vision by a constant barrage of articles and various other publications and translations meant to persuade officials of their merits and usefulness. The influential role he played in the 1895-1898 Reform Movement was acknowledged then by Chinese and missionaries alike. Identifying himself with the most reform-minded of the practical missionary educators in the Educational Association of China, Richard sought to unify their vision and mobilize missionary efforts for educational reform in China.

His contributions were recognized by his contemporaries. He was awarded honorary doctorates by two universities in the United States of America and a third by the University of Wales in recognition of his efforts on behalf of higher education in China. He was made the highest first grade rank mandarin with a red button, and he was later decorated with the Order of the Double Dragon by the Chinese government at

a level usually reserved for foreign dignitaries. For his Manchurian relief efforts for the Chinese during the Russo-Japanese War, in 1904 he was decorated with the Red Cross medal. In 1902 Richard was appointed by imperial edict to be the official Advisor to the Chinese Emperor for Protestant Religious Affairs. Most significantly, Richard served as a Joint Chancellor of the Imperial University of Shansi for almost a decade. All these demonstrate the high esteem in which he was held by Chinese and foreigners alike.³

Notwithstanding all this recognition, there are but a few historians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries who recognize the breadth and sincerity of his efforts. There are no monuments built in Richard's honor nor any buildings named for him. Yet, in 2001 there remains an enduring testimonial to his unflagging zeal for modern education in China—the system of government-supported higher educational institutions in provincial capitals which include curricula encompassing both Chinese and Western studies educating both young men and women. The herald of this system—the Imperial University of Shansi, now known as Shanxi University—was founded through Richard's solomonic efforts to settle the Boxer Uprising indemnity issues for Shansi Province in 1901. As previously noted in another chapter of this study, this Shanxi University will celebrate its history at its Centennial on May 8, 2002. At that time, I will remember the University's beginnings and the vision of its founder and earliest Joint Chancellor, the Reverend Dr. Timothy Richard of Wales.

Notes

1. E. W. Burt, "Timothy Richard: His Contribution to Modern China," 298.
2. Albert J. Garnier, *A Maker of Modern China* (London: Carey Press, 1945), 7.
3. Forsyth, *Shantung*, 213.

To the best of this researcher's knowledge, no man at that time in China's history had received such honors except Sir Robert Hart, the Englishman who was the Inspector General of the Imperial Chinese Customs for many years. Hart, however, received the additional honor of being knighted. In light of Richard's multitudinous contributions, particularly in education and literary endeavors, for the uplift and modernization of the great country of China over a forty-five year period and for his enduring pursuit of peace and fraternity among all nations, this researcher wonders if further recognition by Great Britain, though posthumous, is long overdue.

APPENDIX A CHRONOLOGY OF TIMOTHY RICHARD'S LIFE

- 1845 Born (October 10) in Ffaldybrenin, Carmarthenshire, Wales.
- 1859 Baptized in River Caio.
- 1860 Received "call" to foreign missionary service.
- 1865-1869 Studied in Haverfordwest Theological College.
- 1869 Sailed for China (November 17).
- 1870 Arrived in Shanghai, China (February 12).
Arrived in Chefoo, Shantung (February 27).
- 1871 Itinerated to Manchuria and Korea.
- 1872 Attempted to settle in Ninghai, then Lai Yang; returned to Chefoo.
- 1873 Visited Chinanfu, Shantung, first time.
- 1875 Settled in Ch'ingchowfu, Shantung; developed friendly relations with
Mohammedans, Taoists, religious leaders, hermits; baptized first converts
outside West Gate of Ch'ingchowfu; prepared catechism and hymn book.
- 1876-1877 Administered famine relief in Shantung.
- 1877-1879 Administered famine relief in Shansi.
- 1878 Married Mary Martin of United Presbyterian Mission, Scotland (October
26); settled in T'aiyuanfu, Shansi.
- 1880 Visited Peking to memorialize throne on Russo-China hostilities;
interviewed Li Hung-chang in T'ientsin.
- 1881-1884 Offered monthly lectures and scientific demonstrations to officials and
scholars in T'aiyuanfu, Shansi.

- 1881 Interviewed Tso Tsung-t'ang, Viceroy of Shensi and Kansu, and Chang Chih-tung, Governor of Shansi; visited sacred Buddhist mountain Wu T'ai; returned to Ch'ingchowfu, Shantung, to take care of mission during A.G. Jones's furlough; became seriously ill in Chinanfu, Shantung.
- 1884 Visited Peking; interviewed Sir Harry Parkes regarding protection of missionaries and native Christians; exchanged ideas about the reform of China with Sir Robert Hart; established Evangelical Alliance.
- 1885-1886 Returned to England on first furlough; presented educational scheme for China to B.M.S.; made suggestions to B.M.S. for improved mission methods; was sorely disappointed in B.M.S. refusal to endorse educational scheme or mission suggestions.
- 1886 Tried to raise support for educational scheme; returned to China.
- 1887 Accused by some T'aiyuan colleagues of unorthodoxy; mounted defense against charges of heresy and unorthodox mission methodology; left Shansi Province going first to T'ientsin finally staying in Peking.
- 1888 Developed friendship with Marquis Tseng, son of Tseng Kuo-fan of T'aiiping Rebellion fame; studied Chinese Mahayana Buddhism and Lamaism; visited Japan to study education and mission methodology; wrote pamphlet on *Modern Education*.
- 1889 Moved to T'ientsin; recommended to B.M.S. founding of newspaper for officials and scholars and establishment of a college of Western learning in Chinanfu, provincial capital of Shantung; considered relocating back in Shantung; made two trips to Shantung, the latter to assist in famine relief and to attend Shantung missionary conference; contracted "famine fever" while in Shantung second time; B.M.S. refused to support establishment of college in Shantung.
- 1890 Attended Second General Missionary Conference in Shanghai; read paper "The Relation of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government"; invited by Li Hung-chang to become editor of reformist newspaper *Shih Pao*.
- 1891 Released as editor of *Shih Pao* (June); appointed General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese in October (S.D.K. renamed Christian Literature Society for China in 1906); presented educational scheme to Li Hung-chang before leaving T'ientsin; relocated to Shanghai; concentrated on literary and translation work; involved with educational work in Shanghai.

- 1894 Finished translation of Mackenzie's *The Nineteenth Century: A History*; invited to three interviews with Chang Chih-tung, now Viceroy of Nanking; had interview with Chang Yin-huan, First Peace Envoy to Japan.
- 1895 Went to Peking to prepare Mission Memorial for presentation to the Throne; had interviews with Li Hung-chang, Prime Minister Weng T'ung-ho, Prince Kung, Tsungli Yamen members, and other officials; presented reform scheme to Prime Minister and approved by Emperor; met Kang Yu-wei (October 17) first time; met with and had discussions with various Reform Society members; advised reformers concerning their newspaper and strategies.
- 1896 Presented Mission Memorial to Tsungli Yamen; had last interview with Li Hung-chang; Prime Minister Weng T'ung-ho paid unprecedented farewell call on missionary Richard.
- 1896-1897 Left for second furlough to England; met Li Hung-chang aboard ship as he was going to attend the coronation of the Czar of Russia; visited India, Marseilles, Paris, London; appealed to mission societies in interest of peace and federation of nations; published booklet for use of young statesmen.
- 1898 Returned to China via Canada and the United States; continued efforts towards reform through Reform Society; participated in Hundred Days Reform; assisted reformers to escape after the coup by Empress Dowager.
- 1899 Went to Peking to present an educational scheme for China; discussed privately with several officials instead; interviewed with Sir Robert Hart; interviewed Jung Lu, Kang Yi, and other officials; elected President of the Educational Association of China.
- 1900 Went to New York for Ecumenical Conference on missions to read paper "The Need and Value of Literary Work for Missions"; appealed to mission, government, and business leaders to protect reformers and Christians in China from persecution; warned of impending upheaval against Christians; returned to China via Japan; attempted to marshal intervention in behalf of Christians caught in the Boxer Uprising; awarded honorary D.D. by Emory College, Oxford, GA U.S.A..
- 1901 Invited by Peace Plenipotentiaries Li Hung-chang and Prince Ch'ing to assist the Chinese Government and the Governor of Shansi Province to settle the Boxer indemnity issues with the Protestant missionary societies; presented general principles for settlement to Li and Prince Ch'ing, including one for the establishment of a college of Western learning in the provincial capital of T'aiyuan; ratified by Li and Ch'ing with imperial

approval by May 30th ; awarded honorary Litt..D. by Brown University, Providence, RI U.S.A., because of educational and literary endeavors.

- 1902 Went in April to T'aiyuan for inauguration of the college of Western learning; renegotiated original agreement; established the amalgamated Imperial University of Shansi; was appointed Joint Chancellor with the Shansi governor and given responsibility of the funds, personnel, and curriculum of the Western Department for ten years; approved and recorded in *Peking Gazette* July 3, 1902; appointed by imperial edict to be Advisor to the Emperor for Protestant missions.
- 1900-1902 Involved in developing public education for the Chinese in Shanghai.
- 1903 Visited Japan to secure textbooks for the Imperial University of Shansi; interviewed Baron Kikuchi and Prince Konoye; grieved death of wife, Mary Richard; received highest rank of mandarin with a red button (1st rank, 1st grade).
- 1904 Became Secretary of the International Red Cross Society in Shanghai; went to Peking for interviews with Chow Fu, Jung Lu, Prince Su, Lu Ch'uan-lin.
- 1905 Returned to England for third furlough; attended as delegate World Baptist Conference in London; attended as delegate Lucerne Peace Conference where he proposed Federation Scheme.
- 1906 Formed China Emergency Committee.
- 1907 Attended Third Missionary Conference at Shanghai ; decorated by the Chinese Government with the Order of the Double Dragon, 2nd order, 2nd grade.
- 1908 Visited Korea and Japan; met with Price Ito.
- 1909 Elected Vice President of the Educational Association of China
- 1910 Attended as delegate the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh; initiated handover (November 15) of the Imperial University of Shansi to Chinese provincial government authorities.
- 1911 Completed devolution of the Imperial University of Shansi (June); was in Shanghai at the outbreak of the Republican Revolution on October 10th.
- 1912 Visited Ch'ingchowfu to attend first United Conference of the religious leaders of various faiths.

- 1913 Visited Taoist center at Lao Shan; translated *Mission to Heaven*.
- 1914 Visited Ch'angsha, Hunan; married second time—Dr. Ethel Tribe in Yokohama, Japan (August 14).
- 1915 Suffered serious illness; resigned as Secretary of C.L.S.; visited Java.
- 1916 Returned to England; awarded honorary LL.D. by University of Wales in Aberystwyth for his contributions to higher education in China.
- 1918 Received Liang Ch'i-ch'ao for visit on his way to Versailles Peace Conference.
- 1919 Died (April 17) following surgery; cremated and interred in Golders Green, Northwest London.

APPENDIX B
COMPILATION OF WORKS BY TIMOTHY RICHARD ¹

English Translated Titles of Chinese Works
(Some original, translated, or edited)

Approximate Date

The Story of the Fall and Redemption, by a Chinese Christian	1874
Translation of Philosophy of Plan of Salvation, by J. H. Walker	1875
A Catechism on the Christian Religion	1875
A Collection of Hymns for Use With Catechism	1875
Daniel Quorm, a Cornish Evangelist	1875
Introduction to the Devout Life by Francis de Sales	1875
Holy Living by Jeremy Taylor	1875-6
Very Short Tracts, Pasted on Chinese City Walls in Eleven Counties	1876
Adaptation of Standard Chinese Tracts Without Idolatry	1876
How Christianity Fulfills the Highest Aspirations of the Three Religions of China	1876/1879
How to Pass the Great Examination (Mrs. Richard's translation of Dr. Rouse's for India)	1879
The King's Messenger	?
Music of the World, Volume 1 of 10	1880
One Hundred Suggestions for the Improvement of China	1881
Present Needs of China	1882

	228
The World: Its Produce and Merchandise	?
Ricci's Ten Dialogues on Religion	?
Adaptation of Ricci's Tien Chu Shih Yih w/A.G. Jones	1882
Steam of Time (A Chart of the History of the Nations)	1883
Hsiao Shih Pu	1885
Benefits of Christianity (Historical Evidence)	1892
Modern Education in Seven Nations	1891/1899
Four Great Questions of the Times	1892/1898
Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy	1893
History Of Christian Civilization in the 19 th Century by Mackenzie (w/Ts'ai Er-kang)	1894
Productive and Non-Productive Labour	1894
Joint Stock Companies	1894?
English Law in China by Consul Jamieson	1894?
Taxation	1894
The Religions of the World	1894
Sketch of the Chinese Endeavor Society	?
Treaties, Regulations, Edicts, etc., in Regard to Mission Work	1894
The Parables by Krummacher	1894
Outlines of History of Thirty-one Nation	1894/1896
The Earth as a Planet	1894
Eight Great European Emperors From Alexander to Napoleon	1893/1894

	229
Grace Before Meat	1894
Protestant Missionary Pioneers	1894/1896
Three Prefaces on the Importance of Western Learning (Li Hung-chang and Marquis Tseng)	?
Reform Essays or Essays on Reform	1895
The Warning Bell from the West	1895
Revenue and Expenditure of the Chinese Empire by Consul Jamieson	1895
Tariff and Lakin by G. Jamieson	?
Essays on Reform— Seventeen Foreigners, 4 Volumes	?
Christian Biographies, 10 Volumes	1896
Statement of Christianity Presented With Memorial on the Aims of Protestant Missions in China	1896
Relative Strength of Nations	?
The Renaissance of China	1897/1899
Thirty-one Essays in New Collection of Tracts for the Times	1898
Hope for the People	?
Salvation of the World	?
Curse of Opium	?
Progress of China's Neighbors	1899
Right Principles of Universal Progress	1899
Extension of Practical Learning	?
Childhood of the World by Clodd	1899
Bible Pictures	1899

	230
Map of the World on a Fan	1899
Map of the Planets on a Fan	1899
Map of the World Showing Locations of Chief Religions	1899
Diagram and Statistics of the Chief Religions of the World	1899
A Series of Maps Showing Gradual Discovery of the World, From Earliest to Present	1899
Social Evolution by Kidd	1899
The Chairman's Hand Book	1899
Elements of (Basic or) Practical Electricity	1899
Agricultural Chemistry	1899
Historical Atlas	?
Pope's Essay on Man	1900
Schaff's Reunion of Christendom	1901
Church of the Catacombs or Fabiola	1901
Nathan the Wise	1901
World's Hundred Greatest Men (w/Ts'ai Er-kang and Lin Chao-chi), 3 Volumes	
1901	
Official Documents on Religious Liberty	1901/1903
Old Testament Stories	1901
Everybody's Pocket Cyclopedia	1901
A Brief History of the Indian People	1901
The Indian Empire, 6 Volumes	1902
Permanent Peace and Prosperity for China	1902

	231
The World's History by Lethbridge (w/Ting Hsiung, Fei Hsi-lin, Lu Feng-san)	1903
Relations of Advanced and Backward Nations	1903
The Christian Church by Dean Church	1903/1904
Outline of Timothy Richard's Work for China	1904
Universal Civilization Tylor's Anthology (edited w/ Mr. Walshe)	1904
Outline of the World's History	1904
Milner's England in Egypt	1907
Industrial History of England	1907
Christian Theology by Sir Oliver Lodge (w/ A. G Jones)	1907
Hunter's History of the Indian Empire	1907
Sir Oliver Lodge's Christian Catechism	1907
Twelve Years' Programme	1907
Peace for the World	1908
Moulton's Select Masterpieces of Biblical Literature (edited)	1908
A Primer of the Peace Movement	1909
Right Principals of Universal Progress	1909?
Essence of Christianity (w/Ts'ai Er-kang and Tai Shi-to)	
1908/1909	
Tracts for the Tract	1912
A Series of Biographies of Eminent Christian Statesmen	1912

For the Shansi University Between 1901-1910, he had translated the following—

Johnston's Atlas of Physical Geography

Johnston's Atlas of Popular Astronomy

General History for School and Colleges by F.V.N. Myers

History of Commerce in Europe With Lists of Biographical
and Geographical Dictionary by H. de B. Gibbins

One Thousand Biographies, selected from Chamber's Biographical Dictionary

The Wonderful Century by Alfred Russel Wallace

Chronological Tables of the Chinese Dynasties, from the Chou to the Ch'ing

History of Russia by Alfred Rambaud

Algebra, 2 Volumes

Arithmetic, 2 Volumes

Botany

Evolution by Edward Clodd

Mineralogy

Pedagogy

Physics

Physiography

Physiology

Zoology

Books Written in English

The Historical Evidences of Christianity 1885

The History of Anti-foreign Riots in China 1892

The China Mission Handbook 1896

	233
A League of Princes (For private circulation)	1899
Hints to Rising Statesmen	1905
Calendar of the gods	1906
The Awakening of Faith in New Buddhism	1907
Conversion by the Million, 2 Volumes	1907
Guide to Buddhahood	1907
The New Testament of Higher Buddhism	1910
A Mission to Heaven	1913
A Dictionary of Philosophical Terms (w/ Donald MacGillivray)	1913
Contemporary Inspiration Through the Ages	1914
Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard	1916
Epistle to All Buddhists Throughout the World	1916
The Awakening of Faith in Mahayana Doctrine, 2 nd ed.	1918

Besides these, he has edited the *Wan Kuo Kung Pao* and *Chung Shi Kian Hsi Pao* at various intervals during the furloughs of the different editors. Also, during Dr. Edkins' furlough in 1892-3 he edited an English magazine *The Messenger*.

In the Semi-Jubilee Report of the C. L. S. published in 1912, Appendix p. 31, the chief publications were summed up as follows—

- I. 50 Books on the Works of God in order to improve the material condition of China.
- II. 37 Books on the Laws of God to improve the social, national, and international relationships.
- III. 33 Books on the Providence of God to improve education.
- IV. 48 books on the grace of God to improve religion and character.²

Notes

1. *Most of the Circulars Sent Out in Behalf of the Diffusion Society and the Christian Literature Society Between 1891-1901 by Timothy Richard* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907); D. MacGillivray, *Descriptive and Classified Missionary Centenary Catalogue of Current Christian Literature* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1907); W. E. McIntyre, *Baptist Authors: A Bibliography* (np, 1914); Hilda Bowser, *Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D., An Outline of His Life and Work in China* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1914), 5-7; G. A. Clayton, *A Classified Index to the Chinese Literature of the Protestant Churches in China* (Shanghai: China Christian Publishers' Association, April 1918); Edward Caryl Starr, *A Baptist Bibliography, Vol. 19* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Colgate University, 1947-76). For a listing of article locations in the *Chinese Recorder* by or about Timothy Richard, see Kathleen Lodwick, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867-1941, Volume One* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1986), 405-406.
2. [Hilda Bowser?], *Timothy Richard, D.D., Litt.D., LL.D.: An Outline of His Life and Work* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society, 1914), 7. This should be used with caution as it contains significant errors.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Early in my doctoral program in the University of Florida's College of Education, I elected to take a course in qualitative research from Dr. Robert Sherman. I took the class because I wanted to know what qualitative research was and because I was tired of thinking of educational research only in terms of statistics. In this class I was set free and challenged to develop a dissertation research question of a qualitative nature that was scholarly and with which I could passionately wrestle for a number of years. This was the first time that I experienced the linking of passion or emotion with research. By serendipity, that same year I had already discovered the general subject for my research—either the Welsh Baptist missionary educator Timothy Richard or the university in China he founded. But now I had permission from Dr. Sherman to passionately engage my subject. And it was also Dr. Sherman who said that the biographical sketch portion of the dissertation should not be a dry recital of credentials but a personal or qualitative disclosure of the development of the research question. This is now what I will attempt to do in the paragraphs that follow.

I spent the first seventeen years of my life as a "Navy brat" while my father served at nine duty stations—from Pensacola, Florida, to Fallon, Nevada, and even in Hawaii before it was a state. During my first twelve years of schooling, I attended 14 different schools having Native Americans, African Americans, Pacific Islanders, and

even Caucasians as friends. In Nevada, as a third-grader I first observed racial discrimination, against the Piyute Indians. While in Hawaii, in the middle school years, I personally experienced prejudice because I am a *haole* (Hawaiian for "white person"). But it was also in Hawaii that my heart was opened to Asia.

During the early sixties, I attended Newberry College, a small Lutheran college in South Carolina, that had fewer than 500 students. As "a square peg in a round hole," I did not fit in, but the professors there were patient and allowed me freedom for intellectual exploration. Upon graduation, I naively entered the world outside of family and school thinking I was going to be a "great white goddess social worker" and solve all the world's problems. It was an eye-opening experience, and I was not successful in any respect. After two years, I did what many do when all else fails—I went to graduate school. In 1970, I received a Master of Education from the University of South Carolina where I majored in psychological services: measurements. A year of further eye-opening experiences as a psychologist with the South Carolina Department of Vocational Rehabilitation and two years as a school psychologist with the Follow Through Program in Winnsboro, South Carolina, were brought to good use for the next 5 1/2 years as I developed a psycho-vocational evaluation program for the South Carolina Commission for the Blind. These years were brought to a close in 1979, two years after I became a born-again Spirit-baptized Christian, when I experienced a spiritual revelation that I was no longer to do psychological evaluations. The next year was spent in waiting and seeking what I should do. In May 1980, God clearly showed me that one day I would go to China, but it was not until February 1985 that this was

fulfilled when I arrived in the Chinese city of Taiyuan to teach English at Shanxi Medical College. During the next three years, I taught at Shanxi Medical College, then Shanxi Finance and Economics College, and finally at Luoyang Institute of Technology. These years were life-changing and enriching.

I came back to the United States to celebrate my parents' golden wedding anniversary and my father's eightieth birthday with my family. I fully expected to return to China in time to teach in the fall 1988 classes. Circumstances in China changed, and then came the 1989 events in Tiananmen Square. Doors locked tight, so I did what many would do in that situation—I went back to graduate school. Eventually I found my way to a program then in effect in the University of Florida's College of Education in the Department of Foundations of Education— Comparative and International Education. (Coincidental sidenote--Dr. Greenwood and Dr. Guinaugh, now retired from of that Department, were been involved with the same Follow Through Program as I was 20 years before.) Notwithstanding the Foundation of Education merger with another department to become the Educational Leadership, Policy, and Foundations Department, I have pleasantly remained there on and off for a little more than twelve years.

All of this tells you how I got to where I am temporally and geographically as well as educationally, but how have I arrived at my research question? While many would call it chance, I believe I have been led by the Holy Spirit of God. While trying to arrive at a paper topic for my Modern China history course with Dr. Edward McCord, I considered researching a certain early twentieth century Chinese official.

After some discussion, he suggested I research the Shanxi warlord Yen Hsi-shan (Yan Xishan), since I had spent 2 1/2 years in Shanxi Province, and Dr. McCord gave me bibliographical information of a book on him. While perusing this book, I “discovered” that the great American educational philosopher John Dewey had lectured at Shanxi University during his two-year sojourn in China (1919-1921). I never knew that Dewey had ever been in China. My interest in this aspect of Dewey's life was piqued, and I began to consider doing a dissertation on this period in Dewey's life. After a year or so, I realized that I did not enjoy reading Dewey's philosophy, and the thought of having to immerse myself in it for the next five or so years was patently unpleasant. Some time before, however, while doing a computer search on China materials in the Florida State University System libraries I “came across” the entry *Forty-five Years in China: Reminiscences by Timothy Richard* printed in 1916. Curious, and thinking it might help me with background information on my research on Dewey, I made it the first book I requested by interlibrary loan. When it arrived and I was casually flipping through the pages, my eye caught the chapter heading “Famine Relief in Shansi.” I said to myself, “That's my province!” (I had taught English in that province March 1985-August 1987.) A few chapters further, I saw one entitled “Shansi University.” All of a sudden I realized that I was holding the answer to a question I had asked five years before while walking on a main thoroughfare in Shanxi's capital of Taiyuan-- “Who were the missionaries that founded Shanxi University?” Immediately, I knew I would do my dissertation either about this university or its founder, Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard.

As I began to try to locate information about Richard, I found that little research had been done on him. The only doctoral dissertation was done by Sister Virginia Thérèse (Dr. Rita Johnson) in 1966. With a little detective work, I located Sister Virginia Thérèse at the Maryknoll Motherhouse in New York. I was privileged to spend a couple of wonderful days with this busy, intellectually keen, eighty-something “retired” Maryknoll Missioner in 1992. Around the same time during a conversation with the Regent Park College Angus Library archivist in Oxford, England, I discovered that somebody had just recently requested information about Shanxi University. The archivist graciously sent me a copy of the letter. Much to my surprise, I found that the granddaughter of the man whom Timothy Richard appointed to be the first principal of the Western Department of the Imperial University of Shansi (later renamed Shanxi University) was living in Toronto. On the same trip during which I visited Sister Virginia Thérèse, I spent ten days with Doreen Raymer and her husband Ron in Toronto pouring over her grandparents’ correspondence and doing research at the University of Toronto and at Overseas Missionary Fellowship.

While reading Richard’s articles and letters, of which I have located many, it became clear that he had one grand passion—the Kingdom of God worked out intellectually, spiritually, and materially ultimately leading to peace among individuals and nations. I came to see that his earliest missionary works at relieving the wretched conditions of the Chinese people during the 1876-79 famine led to a change in his missionary efforts from solely evangelistic to include both educational and literary lines. It was apparent to me that most all the research done on Richard related to his

missionary method; only Bohr's monograph on his famine relief efforts is a study of Richard's "secular" endeavors, though many other scholars have alluded to his broad influence. It became clear to me, then, that I could combine the three great passions of my life—Jesus, China, and education—while engaged in dissertation research. My dissertation research, as you may know by now, investigated the development and dissemination of Richard's vision for the reform of higher education in late Ch'ing (Qing) China during the years 1880-1910. He used various roles to facilitate this: as missionary counselor to Chinese officials, as editor of the newspaper *Shih Pao* ("The Times"), as General Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, and in various positions within the Educational Association of China. Ultimately, he saw the fulfillment of this vision with the founding of the model university, the Imperial University of Shansi. The founding of this university led to the realization of his grander vision for the establishment of a government-supported system of higher educational institutions in provincial capitals throughout the Empire. My research question, then, became: "In what ways did the educational vision Richard disseminated contribute to the reform of higher education in China, 1880-1910?"

In the final analysis, I can honestly say that while both Dewey and Richard's writings are optimistic in tone, I am glad I chose Timothy Richard. Reading Richard's writings has been for me less tortuous and more spiritually edifying. While research demonstrates that both men had significant impact on education in China, only Dewey's contributions have been acknowledged let alone researched to any extent. This

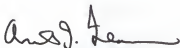
dissertation, therefore, is a long overdue attempt both to vindicate Richard's contributions and celebrate his far-reaching vision for the reform of education, particularly higher education, during a most critical time of China's modern history. His contributions continue to leave their stamp on higher education in China, even that of the People's Republic of China in the twenty-first century. It will be my honor and privilege personally to present a copy of this dissertation to the officials of Shanxi University on the occasion of the celebration of its Centennial on May 8, 2002.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Richard R. Renner, Chair
Professor of Educational Leadership, Policy,
and Foundations

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



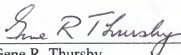
Arthur J. Newman
Professor of Educational Leadership, Policy,
and Foundations

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Arthur O. White
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Gene R. Thursby
Associate Professor of Religion

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 2001



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